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See P 134.

"The Militant Suffrage Movement"

by Mary Winsor

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
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1914

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CONTENTS

PART I—THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

THE LARGER ASPECTS OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT..... 1
Jane Addams, President, Hull-House Association, Chicago.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE NEW CIVILIZATION..... 9
Earl Barnes, Lecturer on Education.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF FEMINISM..... 18
Maurice Parmelee, New York City.

CHANGED IDEALS AND STATUS OF THE FAMILY AND THE PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN..... 27
George Elliott Howard, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science and Sociology, University of Nebraska.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND SEX EQUALITY..... 38
Gertrude S. Martin, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

FEMINISM AND CONVENTIONALITY..... 47
Elsie Clews Parsons, Newport, R. I.

PART II—PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

THE LEGISLATIVE INFLUENCE OF UNENFRANCHISED WOMEN 54
Mary R. Beard, Secretary, Legislative Committee, Women's Trade Union League of New York.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES. 62
Florence Kelley, New York City.

WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES..... 71
Neva R. Deardorff, Ph.D., Department of Public Health and Charities, Philadelphia.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN'S CLUBS..... 78
Mary I. Wood, Manager, Bureau of Information, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Portsmouth, N. H.

WOMEN IN THE JUVENILE COURT..... 88
Emily Foote Runge, Assistant Probation Officer, St. Louis Juvenile Court, St. Louis, Mo.

PART III—WOMAN AND THE SUFFRAGE

EQUAL SUFFRAGE—A PROBLEM OF POLITICAL JUSTICE..... 93
Anna Howard Shaw, President, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE OPPOSED TO WOMAN'S RIGHTS..... 99
Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, New York City.

THE SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE BALLOT UPON WOMEN. 105
Emilie J. Hutchinson, Instructor in Economics, Barnard College, New York City.

THE EVOLUTION OF A NEW WOMAN..... 111
Simon N. Patten, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy, University of Pennsylvania.

POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN AND WOMEN'S WAGES.... 122
S. P. Breckinridge, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

THE MILITANT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT..... 134
Mary Winsor, Chairman of the Pennsylvania Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and President of the Pennsylvania Limited Equal Suffrage League.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC..... 143
Ella Seass Stewart, Ex-President, Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, and former Secretary, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IN PENNSYLVANIA..... 153
Jennie Bradley Roessing, President, Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, Harrisburg, Pa.

INDEX..... 161

THE LARGER ASPECTS OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

By Jane Addams,

President, Hull-House Association, Chicago.

Perhaps no presentation of history is so difficult as that which treats of the growth of a new consciousness; but assuming that the historic review, now so universal in the field of social judgment and investigation, is applicable to any current development, I have ventured to apply it to that disturbing manifestation called the "votes-for-women" movement, which at the present moment is not only the centre of hot debate but, unhappily, also of conduct which in the minds of many is most unseemly.

Because I shall need the indulgence of the reader who may kindly follow this review, I will at once recall to his mind the statement of an ironic Englishman that it would be better to be convicted of petty larceny than to be found wanting in historic mindedness.

To begin then with the world-wide aspect of the votes-for-women movement—that there may be nothing more petty about us than the theme itself imposes—it is possible to make certain classifications of underlying trends, which, while not always clear, and sometimes overlapping, are yet international in their manifestations.

First: the movement is obviously a part of that evolutionary conception of self-government which has been slowly developing through the centuries. For the simple reason that self-government must ever be built up anew in relation to changing experiences, its history is largely a record of new human interests which have become the object of governmental action, and of the incorporation into the body politic of the classes representing those interests. As the governing classes have been enlarged by the enfranchisement of one body of men after another, government itself has not only become enriched through new human interests, but at the same time it has become further democratized through the accession of the new classes representing those interests. The two propositions are complementary.

When the middle classes in every country in Europe struggled to wrest governmental power from the exclusive grasp of the nobles,

the existing governments were already concerned with levying tariffs and embargoes, and the merchants insisted, not only that the problems of a rising commerce could not be settled by self interested nobles, but that they themselves must have direct representation before those problems could even be stated intelligently.

When the working men of the nineteenth century, the chartist in England and "the men of forty-eight" in Germany, vigorously demanded the franchise, national parliaments had already begun to regulate the condition of mines and the labor of little children. The working men insisted that they themselves could best represent their own interests, but, at the same time, their very entrance into government increased in volume the pressure of those interests.

In certain aspects, the entrance of women into government differs from former efforts in the extension of the franchise. We recall that the final entrance of the middle class into government was characterized by two dramatic revolutions, one in America and one in France, neither of them without bloodshed. This world-wide entrance into government on the part of women is happily a bloodless one and has been without a semblance of violence save in England where its manifestations are not unlike those of the earlier movement among English workingmen. Throughout those efforts so to change political institutions that they might effectively give expression to the growth of new experiences, the dependence of the political machine for its driving force upon the many varieties of social fuel constantly was made clear. It was, after all, rather an astute statesman who remarked that "What liberty and prosperity depend upon are the souls of men." Certain it is that the phenomenal entrance of woman into governmental responsibilities in the dawn of the twentieth century is co-incident with the consideration by governmental bodies of the basic human interests with which women have traditionally been concerned, quite as the membership of the middle class and that of the working class each in turn followed its own interests and became a part of representative government.

The new demand of women for political enfranchisement comes at a time when unsatisfactory and degraded social conditions are held responsible for so much wretchedness and when the fate of all the unfortunate, the suffering, and the criminal, is daily forced upon woman's attention in painful and intimate ways. At the same

moment, governments all over the world are insisting that it is their function, and theirs alone, so to regulate social and industrial conditions that a desirable citizenship may be secured.

In certain respects the insistence of women for political expression, which characterizes the opening years of the twentieth century, bears an analogy to their industrial experiences in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the textile industries were taken out of private houses and organized as factory enterprises. If women had not followed those old industries into factories, thousands of them would have sat idly at home in empty houses, losing not only the money they had formerly earned but their old occupation as well. It was often considered "unwomanly" for these spinsters to go outside the home in order to use a spindle driven by steam power, possibly because all the queens of polite history, since the days of Penelope, when interrupted by their amours were always languidly engaged with textiles. It is hard to see now how the basic industry of England could have been developed without the thousands of women and girls who in spite of public opprobrium followed their old occupations.

But is it not obvious that, as industrial changes took spinning out of private houses, so political changes are taking out of the home humanitarian activities, not to mention the teaching of children? The aged poor of a community who were formerly cared for in the houses of distant relatives or old neighbors, the sick who were nursed night and day by kindly friends and acquaintances taking turn and turn about, are now housed in large infirmaries and in hospitals built and supported by the tax payers' money. The woman who wishes to be a teacher or a nurse takes her training in public institutions, as she formerly went to the factory to spin, not because she wishes primarily to leave home but because her work has been transferred. As she was helpless, without the franchise, to keep little children from working all night in the early textile mills of Yorkshire, so she is powerless now to regulate the administration of schoolhouse or hospital. A college woman who was recently appointed dietitian for the institutions of Cook County found that the menu in essential respects had not been changed in thirty-two years because it was easier for the county commissioners to copy the old forms upon which the food contracts had been awarded than to make new ones.

Studied from a second aspect, the "votes-for-women" movement is doubtless one result of the fundamental change which is taking place in the conception of politics analogous to the changes in the basic notions in education, criminology, and political economy. Graham Wallas, in his very interesting book *Human Nature in Politics*, points out that, while educators have learned to study child psychology so that teachers understand children rather than manage schools, and that while jurists are ceasing to classify offenders solely on the basis of their crimes and are beginning to regard them as human beings, politicians have not yet learned to apply social psychology to the field of political action. The individual voter is still regarded as a party adjunct, a useful unit for party organization exactly as the old economist long considered the "economic man" as a sort of lone wolf impelled by no other motive than the desire for food. Quite as the science of political economy made little progress until it got rid of that fiction and looked at men as they really exist, each a bundle of complicated and overlapping motives, so politicians are making many blunders because their action is not founded upon the genuine facts of human existence. They have failed to observe how rapidly the materials and methods of political life are changing, that the law courts and legislature are struggling desperately to meet modern demands with conceptions of property and authority and duty founded upon the rude compromises made centuries ago, that there is obvious need for bolder arrangements and interactions in the distribution of employment, education, invention. Such changes can only come about if they are carried on with that same spirit of free thinking and outspoken publication that has won in the field of natural science.

An able man long ago pointed out that the qualities most valuable in an electorate are social sympathies and a sense of justice, then openness and plainness of character, lastly habits of action and a practical knowledge of social misery. Woman's value to the modern states, which constantly are forced to consider social reforms, lies in the fact that statesmen at the present moment are attempting to translate the new social sympathy into political action.

The contemporary efforts to extend the principles of social insurance to illness in several European states, and to control unemployment through national labor exchanges, are not so much social reforms as titanic pieces of social engineering in which the judgment

of women is most necessary. Governmental commissions everywhere take woman's testimony as to legislation for better housing, for public health and education, for the care of dependents, and many other remedial measures, because it is obviously a perilous business to turn over delicate social experiments to men who have remained quite untouched by social compunctions and who have been elected to their legislative position solely upon the old political issues. Certainly under this new conception of politics it is much easier to legislate for those human beings of whose condition the electorate are "vividly aware," to use a favorite phrase of Professor James.

It is not difficult to find instances in which legislators have made themselves a little absurd by ignoring this philosophic postulate. A most advanced German statesman in the reichstag declared recently that it was a reproach to the imperial government that out of two million children born annually in Germany four hundred thousand died during the first twelve months of their existence. He proceeded to instance various reforms which might remedy this, such as better housing, the increase of park areas, the erection of municipal hospitals, the provision for adequate milk supply and many another, but he did not make the very obvious suggestion that the advice of women might be valuable in the care of children less than two years old. Nor did the English Parliament see the connection when they spent an entire evening discussing the propriety of prohibiting the use of a popular brand of flannelette for children's night gowns because so many tenement house babies had been burned to death when lighted candles held by weary mothers came in contact with the inflammable material whose smooth finish had been superinduced by an industrial process in which turpentine was used. The House was hotly divided as to whether the use of wool was absolutely necessary to the health of young children, although the members of the party, advocating "cottonette" as a substitute, were somewhat chagrined when upon consulting their wives at breakfast the next morning they found that the word had been coined in the heat of argument and that there was no such material on the market. During the last presidential election in the United States, when measures of social reform suddenly became the basis of party pledges, many women were pushed into the stream of party politics with a momentum almost as instinctive as that of a mother who springs into the water to

rescue her child. Naturally when women see their social causes, some of them tiny things and new born, about to be turned over to governmental officials, they insist upon an opportunity to help select the men who are to become the protagonists of their most cherished reforms.

Women have discovered that the unrepresented are always liable to be given what they do not need by legislators who wish merely to placate them; a child labor law exempts street trades, the most dangerous of all trades to a child's morals; a law releasing mothers from petty industry that they may rear worthy children provides a pension so inadequate that over-burdened women must continue to neglect their young in order to feed them.

More than one woman, while waiting in the lobby for an opportunity to persuade recalcitrant law-makers in regard to a legislative measure, has had ample time to regret that she had no vote by which to select the men upon whom her social reform had become so absolutely dependent. Such a woman can even recall some cherished project which has been so modified by uninformed legislators during the process of legal enactment that the law finally passed injured the very people it was meant to protect.

The community, for instance, will never be made "vividly aware" of the effects of chronic fatigue upon young working girls or upon children who divert their energy from growth to pasting labels on a box by men whose minds are fixed upon factory management from the point of view of profits. The cultural outlook on life must become as aggressive as the commercial if it hopes to be effective.

The third trend in the feminist movement might be called evolutionary rather than historic, if indeed the two may be separated. In this trend the very earliest stage is doubtless represented by those women of Asia who are making their first struggle against the traditional bondages and customs whose roots creep back into primitive times, and whose efforts are yet in that incipient and unorganized stage which characterized the efforts of western women a hundred years ago. As a whole, this trend is connected with contemporary revolutions carried on by men demanding a direct representation in governments which at present ignore them. The most striking example, perhaps, is Russia, where women have taken an active part in the recently established constitutional government.

Twenty-one of them at the present moment are sitting as members in the Finnish Parliament. Due to that inveterate tendency of revolutionists to incorporate into their program the most advanced features of existing governments, the demand for woman's political representation has reached even Mohammedan countries, such as Persia and Turkey, where it is directly opposed to their religious teaching. Both China and Siam, in spite of eastern customs, have given women a political status in their new constitutions by extending to certain classes of them the right of suffrage.

In contrast to these contemporary revolutions in which women have been recognized are the European revolutions of the nineteenth century in which women also worked side by side with men for a larger democracy, but where they were ignored when the constitutions were finally written. This is clearly seen in such states as Bohemia, Silesia, and Hungary, where women with certain property qualifications are still sending members to Parliament who directly represent their interests. This right of women to vote has survived from the days when the ownership of property was the only basis upon which either men or women were given the franchise. When the vote for men was based upon a broader qualification than that of property, the vote, although it was not extended to other women, was not taken away from the women previously qualified. It was upon such a basis that women a few centuries ago sat in the English Parliament and at this moment are voting upon the same terms as men in the municipal governments of Rangoon and other Indian cities. These surviving votes, representing a stage long past, are a reproach to existing governments which at the present moment are making a greater disparity between the political status of men and women than that which existed three hundred years ago. Whatever the result, in the final adjustment, so long as the revolutions both of the nineteenth and the twentieth century were purely inspirational and doctrinaire, the revolutionists recognized the equality of women. The aftermath was obvious, during the recent election in Chicago, that the women of those nations recently stirred by revolution were the women most eager to utilize the franchise—Bohemian, Polish, and Irish women, and the Italian women whose families had been committed to a new Italy.

The generous moral feeling evoked in a time of revolution, reducing life to its first principles as it were, tends to restore women

to their earlier place in society, somewhat as women regain much of their original social importance in pioneer countries where there is little division of labor. Because good government is not a matter of sex when it means a method of identifying cattle which have become mixed with the neighboring herd or of defending little children from the dangers incident to frontier life, it has evidently been difficult for the pioneer man to withhold political rights from women when government has become more conventional. Such a condition is represented by all of the Australian states, one following another in the granting of the franchise to women until the entire seven are included; by Wyoming which gave suffrage to women in 1869, and by others of the western states in America, and last of all by Alaska. Even the conservative Boers of the early Dutch republics in South Africa had given the right of the franchise to the women who had trekked and fought and ploughed by their sides in the spirit of the early German woman who evoked the admiration of Tacitus. And although the Dutch women had never used the vote, being inhibited by some notion that it was not ladylike, there it was ready at hand until the English inaugurated a more sophisticated rule.

The final impression of a review of this movement we have ventured to consider is of a cause growing, pushing, and developing in all the nations upon the face of the earth, representing new experiences and untrammeled hopes. It is everywhere surprisingly spontaneous and universal. It not only appears simultaneously in various nations in both hemispheres, but manifests itself in widely separated groups within the same nation, embracing the smart set and the hard driven working woman; sometimes the movement is sectarian and dogmatic, at others philosophic and grandiloquent; it may be amorphous and sporadic, or carefully organized and consciously directed; but it is always vital and is constantly becoming more widespread.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE NEW CIVILIZATION

By Earl Barnes,
Lecturer on Education.

The position which any group of individuals holds in society at any time depends upon two factors, the qualities which actually belong to the group, and the ideas concerning the group which are current at the time. Of these two, the actual physical and subjective qualities, which may conveniently be called the biological conditions, are much the more important. They are always hard to determine, but they are very persistent, and since they represent the facts of life, they are very powerful. They change very slowly, and if at any time the public ideas do not agree with them, then the ideas must change no matter how logical nor how well established they may be.

But ideas are also very powerful in, at least temporarily, determining social position, whether they agree with the physical and subjective facts of the class or not. In the past, they have exalted priesthoods, good or bad; they have enforced slavery, sometimes on inferior people, as the black race, and sometimes on superior people, as when Rome enslaved Greece. These ideas also change slowly; but in the case of industrial or military revolutions they may move with amazing rapidity. Thus in the case of American slavery, a change in dominant ideas transformed the blacks from chattels to equal citizenship in a few brief days, during which there could have been no appreciable change in their physical and mental qualities.

From this it is clear that the ideas must often have little correspondence with the actual qualities of the class whose position they determine. Ideas must, of course, have a cause; but once shaped in language, they may survive long after the conditions which created them have ceased to exist; or they may be carried over seas and grafted on alien people, under conditions where they would never have arisen. Backed by superstitions, religious sanctions, and most of all by long usage, they may come to be so ardently believed that the actual facts cannot be discerned; and they may

even become an end in themselves so that people may fight for their preservation, even when they feel that they no longer fit the facts of life. The English peerage, with its monopoly of votes, land, wealth, and hereditary privileges, is still upheld by the masses of the English people.

In judging of the position of women, the difficulties already mentioned are increased by the fact that in matters of sex the emotions generally lead the mind and obscure its action; and, besides this, any change in our beliefs or practices concerning women will disturb the vested interests and the daily adjustments of life of almost every man and woman alive. It is not to be wondered at, then, that our knowledge of the biological facts of sex is so limited; nor is it surprising that old ideas and new ideas are inextricably mixed; nor that in such a time of transition ideas are seldom brought to the test of the biological and psychological facts which we do possess.

For about forty years the physical and mental qualities of women have been subjected to careful analysis, in some cases with very little prejudice on the part of observers. To summarize these briefly, we may say: Women are shorter and lighter in weight than men. They are narrower at the shoulders than men and broader at the hips; man tapers from the shoulders downward while woman tapers from the hips upward to the shoulders and downward to the feet. She is longer in the body than man and shorter in the legs and arms; her leverage in both arms and legs is shorter than in men. Men are built on lines of movement more than women are, and in most of our athletic contests men's records are from a third to a half superior to those made by women. From the point of view of resistance, woman's general structure, considered from the point of view of her potential or actual motherhood, makes her less capable of standing and lifting for a considerable period than a man is.

In civilized communities, from 1 to 2 per cent more boys than girls are born, and the girls seem less subject to variation than the boys. Following Geddes and Thompson, we may say that women are anabolic; they gather and shape the forces of life; they are its conservers. Men, on the other hand, are katabolic; they tend to distribute and dissipate the forces of life; they are its destroyers. To put it differently, women are more passive than men; and men are more active on the physical side than women are.

The nervous system in the two sexes, compared with the general physical bulk, is almost the same in size; and of its qualitative differences we know nothing. No biologist can tell from a section of the brain whether it is that of a man or a woman. While each sex can probably do any intellectual work which the other can do, women are more emotional than men and reach conclusions by shorter routes. Men are more labored in their subjective processes; and they care more for logic and science than women do. The intellectual interests of women seem at present strongly personal and concrete, while men are more devoted to impersonal and abstract problems.

It is also recognized that a woman's life is more subject to periodicities than is that of a man. Not only is she subject to interruptions due to her potential motherhood but, if she becomes a wife and mother, her whole life breaks into three segments of about equal length. The first third, the period of girlhood and maidenhood, must be given to preparation for life; the next third, up to the age of forty-five or fifty, gathers around the problems of maternity and the family, and may be called the romantic period; the third part, from fifty to seventy-five has been largely wasted in the past, and promises to be one of the best periods in the future.

If we turn now to the ideas that determine woman's position, we find them in utter confusion. Until about 1870, they were pretty clearly established and they can be summed up in the statement that woman was man's inferior, physically and mentally. Her spiritual insight and her higher moral ideals were often recognized; but her proper social position was believed to be half way between that of a child and a man. Judaic-Christianity was largely responsible for this belief in Christendom. In both Judaism and Christianity, the heavenly hierarchy was purely patriarchal; and in the story of creation, Eve overwhelmed the race in ruin and brought suspicion on all her daughters, which even the promise that her seed should bruise the serpent's head could not dispel.

Early Christianity in its revolt against pagan sensuality developed an ascetic attitude towards life which recognized woman as the dangerous ally of evil. The fact that Jesus never married, that he had no children, and that he chose men alone as his active coworkers, backed by the Jewish attitude of Paul, gave women a subordinate place in the early Christian Church. The Patristic

writings exalted celibacy and placed the whole sexual life under a cloud of suspicion. Even the rise of Maryolatry, with its subsequent developments in chivalry, could not restore woman to her pagan freedom, but created for her instead a mingled ideal of nun, lady and woman.

Created from man, as an afterthought, woman was naturally inferior to her lord and dependent on him for protection and support. Legally and politically she was identified with her father, her brother, her husband or, if she survived all these, then with her grown son. These men spoke for her in church or in public; they recognized her natural curiosity and, suspecting her use of knowledge, they kept it from her. They provided her with work, collected her wages, and doled out her spending money. Her sexual life was dependent on the accidents of marriage, and she could not seek this realization but must wait demurely until some proper man sought her hand. If no suitor came wooing, she must live her life vicariously as best she could as maiden aunt or cousin.

This is a broad statement of the ideas which fixed woman's position in society in the past. Here and there a woman escaped through superior ability, or more often through the accident of having a radical father or no male relative to represent her, and then she ate of the tree of knowledge, managed her own property, and sometimes even governed a realm. But nearly all the women in Christendom not only meekly accepted their fate but also saw to it that other women kept within their assigned limits.

By 1870, the general democratic movement, as voiced in the Protestant Revolution and the French and American Revolutions, reached down to the woman's world. Mechanical inventions, together with larger political and social vision, disturbed the woman's older position in the self-contained home and forced her out into the larger world. Since then, women, and their sympathizers among men, have developed a whole range of new ideas concerning woman's relation to the society of which she is a part. They have declared that the individual man or woman is the unit of which society is composed, and that society can only be strong when each of these units is strong. They have declared that women's minds are equal to men's minds and that they can do any of the intellectual tasks which men have mastered. They have said that women can adapt themselves to the performance of any of the industries which men

formerly held as their own fields. They have insisted that women owe it to themselves and to society to become economically independent; and that women should be legally and politically emancipated from man's direction. Some of the bolder spirits have even held that a woman who wants a child, and can support it, has a right to choose its father where she will.

Out of this chaos of ideas, old and new, has emerged a new society; or at least the old order is broken up. In forty years, women have taken over education as their special function, excepting some of the best paid administrative positions and the highest reaches of teaching in the high schools, colleges and universities. Aided by the industrial revolution or driven by it, 8,000,000 women are now independent wage earners in the United States. Legal enactments have put them on a basis of economic equality with men so that they sell their services where they can, collect their own wages, and spend their money as they like. Three million women now have full suffrage in the United States, and the others will soon possess it. Meantime, they have their own clubs, enrolling more than a million women, their special activities and their special pleasures. They have won all this in open competition with men, though often aided by them; and few have stopped to ask if the new functions are in accordance with the basal physical and mental facts with which they must agree if they are to become permanent.

Let us examine some of these conquests from the point of view of woman's essential qualities and in the light of what we have learned during the last forty years. In formal education women have modelled their work directly on that built up for men, and by men, through the selective processes of hundreds of years. Below the college, nearly all our schools are co-educational, and boys and girls do the same work in the same way; even when the sexes are separated the courses of study that are offered are almost identical. Many of the colleges are co-educational; and those devoted exclusively to women, such as Wellesley, Vassar, Bryn Mawr and Smith, are less inclined to change the old curriculum than are the corresponding colleges devoted exclusively to men.

Under these conditions, women have demonstrated their ability to do all the exercises set for men; they have taken their fair share of honors; and last year they took 42 per cent of the A.B. degrees in American colleges and universities. There is no clear proof that

women's health has suffered from the strain of higher education. Today, 80 per cent of the teachers in America are women; and the more intelligent the community the larger is the percentage of women teachers. In states like Massachusetts, and in all of our American cities, there are hardly any men teaching in the elementary grades.

But students of biology and psychology are still agreed that there are essential differences in the minds of men and women, and students of education generally admit that our present education is developing distinctive marks of woman's leadership. There can be no doubt that, at least in the elementary grades, where woman's influence is predominant, we are doing admirable work in reading, story telling, biography, mythology and language work as a whole. On the other hand, nature study and the sciences in general have made almost no progress in the last twenty years, if one considers the country at large; and this notwithstanding the fact that our civilization has been predominately scientific since 1870. In the higher institutions of learning, women students are in the majority in the courses devoted to literature and to the general humanities while comparatively few of them are found in the sciences or in subjects resting on scientific bases, like engineering and architecture. No proof of these assertions can be offered in this place, but they seem clearly capable of demonstration.

If this is true, then it would seem that instead of feminizing an education devised by men, for men, thus making a bastard product fitting neither sex, it would be better to turn woman's education more in the direction of woman's qualities thus developing two normal and supplementary parts of our possible civilization. Let us admit that women have demonstrated their ability to do all the intellectual gymnastics devised for men, and then let us go on to find the supplementary values which each sex can offer in education. The two fields will overlap in a hundred directions, and women of a masculine type can still work exclusively in the fields mainly worked by men, while men of feminine qualities can work in the women's field.

On the side of industry, again, women have shown great ability in adapting themselves to varied occupations. And yet we are finding that long standing and lifting are very bad for women, and men and women alike agree in providing seats for women clerks, in forbidding night work for women, and in shortening their hours. Legis-

lation designed to protect women from excessive strain will automatically close some line of work to them while others, like mining and iron manufacturing, will remain closed. Women will not go back to their old occupations, for many of these have ceased to exist; all occupations are destined to undergo many changes in the future as public consciousness comes to recognize the fact that mere bulk of products can never justify us in destroying those who work.

Just where the line of separation between work for men and work for women will finally be drawn no one can now foresee. Probably there will remain here, as in education, a large common field. But meantime all earnest and fair-minded men and women should set themselves to finding what women can best do of all the work that stands open to workers in the modern industrial field. Young girls should be headed away from occupations that seriously threaten their fullest physical life; and we should work here, as in the field of education, for a complementary adjustment of work where men and women would seldom enter into competition.

On the political side, the same conditions confront us. Independent working women, having a legal right to their earnings, must be given a fair share in determining how the public life shall be directed. But here again women, as the makers of homes and the mothers of children, must have more interest than men have hitherto shown in all that comes under the heading of social legislation. On the other hand, they doubtless have less interest than men in matters of administration, finance, and defense; but we have too long had a one-sided administration of public life. Women will bring great gifts to the public service, and these gifts will be of greatest value where they are supplementary to men's natural interests. A large range of public activities will again overlap, and some men and some women will function mainly in the camps of the opposite sex. The effort, meantime, must be to call out the special gifts of both men and women rather than to have them compete with each other in a world representing only one part of our human interests.

In the field of woman's personal and social relations the changes during these last years have been very much less sweeping than in the other fields already discussed. A woman teacher, or stenographer, who has enjoyed all the educational advantages of men, who votes, and who has achieved such economic independence that she

not only supports herself but also those who are dependent on her, still lives in a world of social ideas and limitations only a little less restricted than that in which her mother lived. If she goes to a state convention of her profession she preferably goes with some other woman; if she stays at a hotel it is best for her to have some other woman with her. She shuns the hotel lobby and public restraurants and theaters in the evening, especially if she is alone. She hesitates to engage a man in conversation on the opposite side of a public table or on a train, or to invite a male friend to dine at a hotel or to go to a theater with her. And yet a man may do any of these things as naturally as he would ride in a street car, and without giving the matter a second thought. If a woman sinned against social usuage, even to the extent of smoking in public, her punishment would be very much more severe than that meted out to a man who committed the same offense.

Admitting that there is something in the natures of men and women that makes man the pursuer and woman at least the seeming pursued, it still remains true that women who accept intellectual, business and political rivalry with men, and who still claim the older social privileges, exemptions and securities of the sex, will have a difficult time in making their personal adjustments. The women who first entered college, or went into business, found they could not stop there, but must go further in the movement for personal freedom. Here and there, we have women who have made their individual adjustments to the new social demands, but most women still claim the social protection of the old order and the personal opportunities of the new. It will require fine discernment and great tact to complete woman's social enfranchisement without seriously impairing those checks and balances built up through long centuries to protect women from the undesired familiarity of men. But this is doubtless the next step to be taken.

To summarize this paper: Women have left their old world and are now wandering in unchartered lands; but they are still both physically and mentally women. This fact will survive even if our present theories and prejudices are all finally forgotten. In the new world which they have entered, the advanced guard of women is mainly competing with men. Since men formerly claimed that they were doing all that needed to be done, women probably had to prove their ability to do man's work before men would let them

do their own. The proof has now been given, and the condition of competition between the sexes, with the sex antagonisms thus engendered, is wasteful and unsatisfactory. But the way has meantime been opened for the next step to be taken, where men and women can work in mutual freedom to determine their reciprocal functions in learning, in industry, in government and in organized society.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF FEMINISM

By Maurice Parmelee,
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The term "feminism" has been used in a variety of ways. But generally speaking it seems to be used as a name for the present extensive movement for removing discriminations against woman on the basis of her sex and for placing her entirely or as far as possible on an equality with man.

The economic basis of feminism is obviously one of the most if not the most important aspect of feminism, because its economic basis is more or less fundamental to every other aspect of feminism. This subject involves a great many problems which can be solved only in the course of time, some of them probably not for a long time to come, and in the present transitional stage it is impossible to give a final answer to most of them. I shall attempt, therefore, to state only the more important of these problems, indicating only tentatively a possible solution for some of them.

The more extreme type of feminist seems to assume that woman can, will and should be on an absolute equality with man in every respect. The tendency of this type of feminism is to minimize almost to the point of nullity the differences between man and woman and between the human and social functions of the two sexes. Economically, then, this would mean that woman can, will and should enter every occupation along with man and that she should become economically as independent as man is or is supposed to be. But it is not safe to assume this without careful study of the subject, and such study may indicate that the two sexes cannot be as nearly equal, or, to use a more correct term (for the term equal is question-begging), as nearly alike as this type of feminist seems to assume.

Contrasted with the extreme type of feminist is the extreme type of anti-feminist who emphasizes to an extreme degree the differences between man and woman and consequently the unlikeness which should and must exist in the social position of the two sexes. Economically this would mean that the occupations open to woman

should be few and distinct from those of man and that she should be in the main dependent economically upon man.

In this connection it is important to remember that the terms "economic independence" and "economic dependence" as ordinarily used are rather misleading. In the technical economic sense a person is economically independent who is earning an income in the form of economic goods or money in an economic occupation usually carried on outside of the home and in which he is producing goods which are put on the market and have exchange value. In this sense it is evident that the vast majority of women in the past and a large part of them now are economically dependent. But to a high degree in the past, and to a large extent still, women have been carrying on activities in the home which were economically valuable in the broader social meaning of the term for they were producing goods for home consumption, while in performing the functions of child bearing and rearing they have been performing functions which in the same broad social sense have been of the highest economic value. However, on the one hand, modern economic progress has taken many industries from the home, while, on the other hand, the advance of civilization has led naturally and necessarily to a lowering of the birth rate thus reducing woman's work in the bearing and rearing of children. These changes have lessened greatly the economic functions of woman within the home and have brought into being a relatively large leisure class of parasitic women who are in every sense of the term economically dependent, and a much larger class of women who are partially dependent. These changes are probably the strongest causes of the modern feminist movement because, on the one hand, a few of the more intelligent of the leisure class of women, who are mostly in the middle and upper classes, have become restless in their idleness and have initiated movements for enlarging the political and economic activities of women. On the other hand, these changes have made of serious importance the question of the economic independence of women, for modern civilization must decide whether it can tolerate so large a class of women who are wholly or partially dependent economically, and a part at least of the feminists recognize this problem and are interested in studying it.

Let us consider first to what extent woman is capable of entering all occupations. Physically she is somewhat handicapped as

compared with man. Investigations among European peasants, where the women had as good an opportunity to develop themselves physically as the men, have shown that women are on the average about two-thirds as strong as men. This does not mean that women must therefore be barred out of all occupations requiring physical strength. In most occupations men do not have to work to the limit of their strength, or at any rate have to do so only occasionally, so that in many of these occupations it is entirely possible for women to work with men. This is all the more possible if the work can be so arranged that the excessive strains shall fall upon the men, so that the tasks imposed upon the women shall not exceed their strength. The peasant woman, who works in the fields from early youth beside the boys and men, develops a robust womanhood which is of the utmost value for herself and her progeny. She presents an example which might well be followed by many (especially in this country) who regard it as demeaning for women to do hard physical labor and ungallant of men to require or even to permit it.

If, however, the excessive strains in any occupation are unavoidable for the women, it will bar them from the occupation. This is one of the reasons why women do not go to war. They can be taught to shoot, to ride horses astride, etc., and they can be as patriotic and ferocious as men. But success in war depends to a considerable extent upon the ability to sustain forced marches, to carry heavy loads, to run very fast upon occasion, and to engage in hand-to-hand combats in which sheer physical strength is the decisive factor.

Furthermore, there are occupations which are not beyond woman's physical strength, but in which she is likely to receive injury because of her sexual and reproductive organs.

As a quadruped, the female suffered little handicap because of the functions peculiar to sex, except when actually carrying or nursing the young. But after mankind had learned to stand erect, her support was far from ideal. The bones of the ankle and feet are too small to sustain great weight. A woman's knee is not so well adapted as a man's to form part of a sustaining column. The muscles of the leg, too, have a shorter purchase than a man's, hence the leverage between the trunk and the extremities is less. The strain of support is transferred to the back. Thus any work which requires long standing for a woman is injurious. All the pressure of the body's weight is brought to bear upon a portion where the sex organs and others are crowded together, and produces a dragging feeling above and about the hips. Women

performing such work are especially liable to congestion of all the organs enclosed by the hip bones, because standing and the habit of resting on one leg only cause a narrowing of the hips.[1]

These facts indicate that there are certain occupations which women have already entered to a large extent, such as work in factories and in stores, which may be very injurious to them and to their progeny unless the work can be so arranged as to remove these injurious features.

It has been the popular opinion that woman is mentally inferior, or, at least, is not as capable as man, for certain kinds of work. It is true that in certain activities in which she has had plenty of opportunity to achieve, such as art, music and literature, and to a lesser extent in science and philosophy, her achievements have not been as great as those of man. But in other fields the pragmatic test of accomplishment is not a fair one because of the restrictions upon her opportunities. So far as the subject has been studied scientifically, no great mental difference between the sexes has been found which would definitely exclude woman from any specific lines of work, whether or not it be true that man is capable of greater achievements along certain lines.

Looking at the matter from a purely economic point of view, it would then appear that, apart from establishing certain safeguards which would prevent women from undertaking work which would injure them physically, there is no reason for not permitting women to compete with men freely in all kinds of work, both physical and mental. The result would then doubtless be, if we exclude other considerations for the moment, that in some occupations men and women would continue to work together because neither sex would prove to have any superior fitness for it. In other occupations a decided segregation would take place because in each of these occupations one of the sexes would prove to have a superior fitness for it and under free competition would tend to drive out the other. Thus the total amount produced would be increased greatly because all the productive forces would be set to work and would work where most productive. As to which sex would profit most would depend upon which sex proved to be most efficient economically.

[1] R. Malcolm Keir, "Women in Industry," in the *Popular Science Monthly*, October, 1913, p. 376.

It is true that female labor is at present not likely to get a fair return in wages and is very likely to reduce the income of the male laborer as well. But this is due to the existence of a group of exploiters of labor who are ready to seize upon any new supply of labor, whether it be of women, children or newly arrived immigrants, which they can use as a club with which to beat down the wages of labor in general. Female and child labor is of peculiar value to the exploiter for this purpose because many of the women and children have male support which removes them from the pressing struggle for the means of subsistence and enables them to accept less than a living wage. In a more socialized economic system in which the attempt was made to use every productive force in society and to distribute the social income among the producers according to their productive power, work would be provided for every economically productive woman and her remuneration, like that of the male laborer, would be based upon the amount produced by her so far as it could be determined.

The preceding paragraph emphasizes what is illustrated at various points in this article, namely, that the degree and character of female labor must depend largely upon the nature of the general economic organization. The problem of the economic basis of feminism is, therefore, bound up with the larger question of the economic organization of society in general.

But this question as to whether women can enter all occupations as freely as men cannot be determined solely upon considerations which are purely and immediately economic in their character. There are at least three other important factors involved which interfere with the purely economic solution upon the basis of free personal competition. In the first place, the functions of child bearing and child rearing interfere seriously with female labor. In the second place, marital and family unions tend to conflict with the mobility of female labor. In the third place, male gallantry tends to check woman's economic productiveness.

It is obvious that the functions of child bearing and rearing must fall most heavily upon the women. At all times a large part of the women must be partially or wholly disabled by these functions. This means, in the first place, that they must be supported while thus disabled. But it also means, under the present economic and social organization, that the probability of their becom-

ing disabled makes it more difficult for them to enter the economic field, while if they succeed in entering, the disabling, however temporary it may be, throws them out without any assurance usually of being able to reenter later. Under the present system the woman becomes dependent upon a man, usually her husband, and usually continues dependent upon him even after she is no longer disabled. It is true that medical science and social devices for the care of children have greatly lessened the extent to which women are disabled by child bearing and rearing. But under the present system it is bound to remain a serious handicap upon women in the economic world and to force them to become dependent upon the men. Under some other system, as, for example, some form of socialism, where social support would be provided the disabled woman and the assurance of being able to reenter the economic field when capable of doing so, the handicap would be much less. However, the temporary absences would still handicap her somewhat in competition with the men and the women who were not performing the functions of child bearing and rearing.

In most occupations a certain degree of mobility of labor is necessary. In most marital unions both parties to the union are not likely to be engaged in the same kind of work. Or even if they are, they may not succeed in securing work in the same place. So that as long as permanent marital unions are the rule, and this will probably be always, such unions are bound to interfere somewhat with the mobility of labor. The same would be true of any other kind of family union, such as between parents and children. This difficulty is least likely to arise in cities where there are many opportunities to work. But it becomes a serious one in small places where the opportunities to work are not so numerous or so varied as in a city, and may lead either to a break in the union or to one member becoming dependent upon the other.

Inasmuch as up to the present it has been the general rule for the woman to be dependent upon the man, it has usually been easy for the woman to follow the man wherever his work led him. But if women are to become economically independent, this difficulty is bound to arise much more frequently because it will not be so easy for the woman to follow the man. It would then be a question either of breaking the union or of one of them giving up to the other. If the woman's economic interests were greater than those

of the man, he might have to give up to her. And if women generally were more successful economically than men the situation might become reversed and we might see the men usually following the women wherever their work led them. However, owing to the handicaps under which women labor, which have been mentioned, and which tend to make the economic interests of the men more important than those of the women, it is probable that the women will continue usually to follow the men, thus increasing their dependence upon the men. Under a more socialized system an attempt would doubtless be made to provide employment not only for the men but also for those in their families. But under the present system marital and other family unions are certain to conflict with woman's opportunities to secure economic independence, while under the socialized system also it would probably be impossible to eliminate this difficulty entirely.

In the third place, male gallantry will always be somewhat of an obstacle to woman's economic independence and productiveness. This gallantry has its fundamental psychological basis in the tender feelings aroused by the sexual passion. These feelings doubtless exist in many of the other higher animals. They impel the male to watch over and care for the female. In the female there seems to be a corresponding receptive attitude which harmonizes with her more passive sexual nature. The biological value of these characteristics must be obvious enough for they have doubtless played an important part in caring for the female during breeding and in the rearing of the young. This, of course, does not mean that man is never brutal to woman. But his brutality towards woman is probably due in the main to the same brutal feelings and instincts which may make him brutal towards any living being, while so far as he has a peculiar attitude towards woman, it is one of tenderness, especially towards the woman or women with whom he is united by sexual bonds.

It goes without saying that there are certain artificial elements in this gallantry. It would take too long to trace here the historical evolution of the idea of property rights in woman which still influences the man to regard the woman as something belonging to him and for whose maintenance, therefore, he is responsible, or of the subsidiary idea which makes of the quality of his support of his female dependent a measure of his pecuniary ability. Nor have

we space to trace the evolution of the idea bred into the woman that her sex is something of peculiar value which must be bartered for a consideration. This idea still influences most women in their dealings with the other sex all the way from the unions which are most temporary and most explicitly and frankly commercial in their nature to the permanent marital unions in which the bartering is glossed over by a vast mass of social usages and the polite phrases of religion and conventional morality. This idea has been and is still a valuable safeguard for women against having children which would be embarrassing to them and would themselves be in a trying position in society. But this idea is utterly incompatible with the feminist ideal which must involve the idea of the union between members of the two sexes being a mutual affair in which each is giving himself or herself in an equal degree to the other. This idea is very slowly making its way and may sometime become more or less general. But however much this idea may be accepted as an intellectual proposition by both sexes, these tender feelings of the male and the receptive attitude on the part of the female, which are indissoluble concomitants of the fundamental sexual passion, will always lead to a certain amount of care of the female by the male. This will always be somewhat of an obstacle in the way of female economic independence and will always be somewhat of a force for keeping in existence a leisure class of parasitic, unproductive women.

It is true that in woman, also, the sexual passion is connected with tender feelings which impel her to do things for the man towards whom she is attracted. But generally speaking, though with numerous notable exceptions in individual cases, she is impelled to perform personal services such as usually belong within the home and is not likely to go outside of the home to perform services which are not so immediately personal in their character, unless circumstances force her to do so. The man, on the contrary, since the day of the cave-man, partly on account of his superior strength enabling him to hunt and fight, etc., partly on account of the temporary helplessness of the woman due to child bearing and the helplessness of the young, partly in order to win favor in the eyes of the woman in competition with his rivals, but also on account of the gallantry we have described, has at all times gone far afield in his efforts to perform services for the woman.

Another handicap upon woman in the economic struggle, which, though probably less serious than those already discussed, is worthy of note, is that, owing to her valuation of her sexual nature as having peculiar worth and the consequent desirability of bartering it for as high a price as possible, she must devote much attention to her physical appearance. Most economic occupations are so absorbing and so time-consuming that they prevent her from devoting much time to her physical appearance, while many kinds of work are of such a nature as to rob her of the external bloom and other superficial characteristics which are esteemed so highly in the existing male standard of valuation of female charms. If the present social valuation of the female sexual nature changes so that she will no longer be taught to regard it as something to be bartered, and if the male estimation of woman changes so that it will include all of her physique and her mental attainments as well, this handicap upon woman may disappear entirely or in large part, or, at any rate, she will not be handicapped any more than man who will have to compete with his rivals for the favor of woman. But at present it doubtless is somewhat of a handicap upon woman.

In a longer treatment of this subject it would be interesting and valuable to discuss in detail the extent to which women have entered occupations, their success in these occupations, and the position of the women of the working class, of the agricultural class, of the professional class and of the leisure class with respect to this subject. It is evident that the present-day problem of the economic basis of feminism is somewhat different for each of these classes. But we have been able to discuss briefly the economic factors in the rise of the modern feminist movement, the probable result of carrying out fully the feminist ideal of placing woman in the same economic status as man, and some of the obstacles, social and biological in their nature, in the way of the complete attainment of this ideal.

CHANGED IDEALS AND STATUS OF THE FAMILY AND THE PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

By George Elliott Howard, Ph.D.,

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Probably for every people in each stage of social evolution the typical or basic fact is its prevailing or "working" constitution of the family. By the family constitution is meant, in all its wide implications, the vast complex of relations, internal and external, arising in nature's triad of personalities, the mother, father, and child. The changing quality of these relations is the measure, the yardstick, of social progress. As the ideal of the family rises civilization advances.

The Sacramental Tabu of Matrimony Defeats Social Control

In Europe before the Reformation the conditions were not favorable to the rational and healthy growth of the family constitution. Everywhere among all peoples and in all stages of culture, marriage, divorce, and the other family institutions appear as intensely human products. They are social structures, requiring for their safe development the freest appeal to reason and experience. Yet how often have they become the favorite domain of mysticism, superstition, and sacerdotalism! So it was throughout Christendom under the sway of the canon law. It was most unfortunate for civilization that the Christian conception of the nature of marriage should have sprung from asceticism, and that the verbal subtlety of celibate schoolmen should have produced the cardinal definitions upon which the validity of marriage contracts, and therefore the practical administration of matrimonial law, were made to depend. With regard to institutions upon which in so high a degree the welfare of society rests, anarchy was practically sanctioned by the canon law. Where the utmost clearness and simplicity were needed, obscurity and complexity prevailed; and where publicity was urgently demanded by the plainest rule of common sense, there secrecy was in effect invited and rewarded. Clandestine marriage on an enormous scale was the evil fruit of the canonical theory; divorce, forbidden by the

sacramental dogma, masqueraded in the guise of the decree of nullity of spurious wedlock, often secured by perjury and fraud; while woman, whose spiritual equality with man seems affirmed by the spirit of the New Testament, was denied her full franchise in the family trinity because of theological quibbling regarding her alleged guilt for the "original sin." In a word, the canonists placed the most vital family relations under rigid *tabu* against any rational social or human control.

The Family Set Free as a Social Institution

This *tabu* was lifted by Martin Luther. Under his leadership a fatal blow was struck at the ecclesiastical control of the matrimonial relations. Slowly, almost reluctantly, Luther made up his mind to repudiate the sacramental dogma of wedlock. Marriage, he declared, is a "temporal, worldly thing" which "does not concern the church." This revolt, it is clear, involved a new doctrine of social control, of the function of the state, which is of great interest to the sociologist and the political scientist alike. In principle, by accepting Luther's dictum, marriage, divorce, and family-types are recognized as purely social institutions, to be dealt with freely by men according to human needs. Assuredly no more harmful blunder was ever committed by theological subtlety than the setting apart of marriage as *par excellence* the divine institution. A stumbling block was thus put in the way of social progress. Yet today even after a fruitful half-century's scientific study of society, how many good people still cling to the old teaching! They resent the interference of the bold sociologist with the privileged matrimonial institutions. Fatalism, mob-mind, is still singularly strong in conserving the archaic or traditional ideals of the sexual and marital life.

Reconstruction of the Family Constitution

The recognition of the family as a social institution cleared the way for social control. Civil marriage and civil divorce became inevitable. During four centuries the constitution of the family has been in process of dissolution and reconstruction. At first slowly, later with amazing speed, patriarchalism has yielded to democracy in the household. Throughout the western world secular legislation is being extended practically to the whole province of the domestic

relations. It is a many-sided movement for spiritual liberation through which the mother and child are being recognized as equal personalities in the family trinity and in society. It is a process of individualization for the sake of socialization by which the corporate unity of the patriarchal family is being dissolved or even completely destroyed. More and more wife and child are being set free from the sway of the housefather and placed directly under the larger social control.

The new solidarity of the state is thus being won at the expense of the old solidarity of the family. In fact, the rise of democracy in the household is one of the major results of the general leveling process which is releasing the individual from class, sex, or group-control and constituting him a free and distinct unit of the sovereign authority. Hence the family bond is no longer coercion but persuasion. The tie which holds the members of the family together is ceasing to be juridical and becoming spiritual. More and more the household life is dominated by the social motive and less and less by the carnal or sexual desire as an enduring constitutional force. Essentially the family society is becoming a psychic fact. Beyond question the individualization for the sake of socialization, although attended by some temporary evil, is producing a loftier ideal of the marital union and a more just view of the relative functions of the sexes in the world's work. Immediately, from the very nature of the process, it has inured most to the advantage of the woman. In the family, it is releasing the wife from the husband's hand and making her an even member in the connubial partnership; in the larger society, it is accomplishing her political, economic, and intellectual independence. The liberation of the personalities of the mother and child is immensely widening and hastening the process of socializing human kind.

In the United States this process of reconstructing the family constitution has reached a crisis. Here, in the half-century since the Civil War, the liberation movement has gained its greatest speed. Here the remnants of the old coercive system are swiftly passing. Here woman is boldly vindicating her personality. Here precocious youth is winning "emancipation" often in amazingly tender years. Here the voluntary and state experiments for child-saving, mother-welfare, and for clean social living are many and daring. Here the socialized physician and the socialized clergyman are joining hands

with the household economist and the sociologist in an earnest effort to create better methods of home building and saner ideals of family living. There are distinct signs of an extraordinary awakening of the social consciousness and the social conscience to the cardinal truth that the family, as already defined, is the basic fact in our national life, and hence the dynamic factor which ultimately, for good or ill, must determine the quality of American civilization. Emphatically, with respect to the ideals of the family, we are at the height of the transition from the old régime to the new.

Now, are not the radical changes taking place in the family too precipitate to be safe or enduring? Is not this sudden rise of democracy among its members a serious menace to its stability? The family, it is alleged by some earnest students, is in danger of disintegration through the tendencies to individualism which in so many ways are a striking characteristic of our transition epoch. Social reconstruction is always a costly process. Should reform be too long delayed, the price may be very dear. If the process be revolutionary in its velocity and force, grave mistakes may be made. There will be frequent "mis-selection," wrong choice of ways and means on the part of the social builder.

Hence it is not strange that the changing ideals of the family have brought us face to face with social evils which are proving very hard to overcome; have disclosed social problems that will demand all our wisdom and courage to solve. The question is, are the new ideals worth the cost of their realization? Are the evils which confront us due to social conditions which may be remedied?

Is the Over-parentage of the State a Menace to the Family

Thus the integrity of the family, many believe, is threatened by the rapid expansion of the function of the state as over-parent. Ever in new ways the state is "invading" the family to abridge the parental authority. Elementary education is made compulsory. The state now freely enters the home and, for a considerable portion of the working day during the school years, takes the child out of the parents' hands and entrusts it to the public teacher. The school child's health is looked after through medical inspection, sometimes compulsory; and in various ways public provision is made to prevent the evil effects of poverty and malnutrition. To save the delinquent

child from misery, vice, and crime, it is put in charge of the juvenile court. Because, with increasing light, we have become aware of grave faults in household nurture—faults that have always and everywhere existed—a many-sided movement for child-saving has arisen. Minor children are no longer looked upon as an economic asset, as the absolute property of the father. A legal ban is therefore placed upon child labor. Society forbids the employment of young children in factories, mines, and in various injurious vocations. They may even be removed from home, when cruelly treated or exposed to vicious influences, and placed under nurture of the state. In like spirit, society is intervening for the conservation of motherhood. Through maternal insurance, mother-pensions, and various other forms of protection, the state is undertaking to safeguard the welfare of the race.

Is there any just cause for serious alarm in this remarkable growth of the state's over-parentage? Is it not a phenomenon incident to a transition phase in social progress? Mistakes may occur; the process may be carried to an extreme; but clearly, as a remedy for social evils, the movement is sanctioned by rising ideals of the family welfare. The motive of the state in assuming control of the domestic régime is to overcome the neglect or inability of parents properly to care for the nurture of their children. The destructive influence of the derelict home is one of the most harmful of modern social conditions. Largely this is due to the threatened dissolution of the solidarity of the family through the industrial revolution. With the rise of corporate and machine industry in the place of household industry has come a weakening of the intimacy of home ties. Through the factory and the division of labor the family hearthstone often becomes a mere temporary meeting-place of individual wage-earners. The congestion of population in cities is forcing into being new and lower modes of life. The tenement is destructive of the home. The "lodging-house," the "flat," or the "apartment" does not afford an ideal environment for domestic joys. Publicity in life's functions tends to breed sexual communism. Prostitution flourishes. In the crowded, heterogeneous, and shifting populations of the great towns marriages are often lightly made and as lightly dissolved.

Yet the perils to the family resulting from these causes need not be fatal. Already they are passing away. Urban conditions

are rapidly improving. There is ample reason to believe that with wiser social control the city may soon become a better place in which to live than the country is now. Indeed, a careful investigation has just shown that the health of children in our greatest city is better than that of children in nearby rural districts.[1] At last an intelligent effort is being made to destroy commercialized vice in its sinister alliance with the saloon. The environment of the urban home is thus being cleansed. What if that, after all, the "industrial revolution" should prove a blessing rather than a curse to the workingman's family?

The Family as Affected by Woman's Enlarged Activities

The liberation of woman in every one of its aspects profoundly involves the destiny of the family. It signifies in all the larger activities of life the relative individualization of one-half of human kind. This means, of course, a weakening of the solidarity of the family group, so far as its cohesion depends on the remnants of mediaeval marital authority. Will the ultimate dissolution of the family thus become the price of equality and freedom? Or, rather, is it not almost certain that in the more salubrious air of freedom and equality there is being evolved a higher type of the family, knit together by ties—sexual, social, and spiritual—far more enduring than those fostered by the régime of subjection?

It is singular what acute anxiety is felt by adherents of the old order lest woman's new intellectual life should prove disastrous to her physical constitution, unmindful of the fact that even now for the majority of married women the burdens of the orthodox "natural sphere" are far more harmful. The fear that the education of woman, in connection with her growing economic independence, will prove injurious to society through her refusal of matrimony or maternity seems equally groundless. If some educated women are refusing maternity, some educated men likewise are shunning the responsibility of paternity. Although in the United States the marriage rate is rising, the birth rate is falling. The average family

[1] See the *Preliminary Statement* by Dr. Thomas D. Wood, chairman of the committee on health problems of the National Council of Education (1914), comparing 287,469 children of New York City with 294,427 children in 1,831 rural districts of Pennsylvania.

is becoming smaller and smaller. So far as this depends upon male sensuality and venereal disease, a major cause of sterility; upon selfish love of ease and luxury—of which men even more than women are guilty; or upon the disastrous influence of the present extremes of wealth and poverty—of which women as well as men are the victims —it is a serious evil which may well cause us anxiety; but so far as it is the result of the desire for fewer but better-born children—for which, let us hope, the advancing culture of woman may in part be responsible—it is in fact a positive social good. In both Europe and America, the average span of human life has more than doubled since Shakespeare's day. Decidedly the real race suicide consists, not in a falling birth rate, whatever the cause may be, but in a high death-rate due to preventable causes. Another tendency is equally misunderstood. The marriage age is rising. Men as well as women are marrying later and later in life. Here again, for the reasons just mentioned, the results are both good and bad, but probably with a net gain for the social welfare. Certain it is that immature marriages and excessive child-bearing are twin causes of much injury to the human race.

Educated women are not shunning marriage or maternity; but they are declining to view matrimony as a profession, as their sole vocation, or to become merely child-bearing animals. Let us not worry about the destiny of college women. It is simply wrong wedlock which they are avoiding. They are declining longer to accept marriage as a sort of purchase contract in which the woman barters her sex-capital to the man in exchange for a life-support. Perhaps in no clearer light is the rising ideal of family life revealed than in woman's fierce revolt against the ancient, man-made standard of the sex relations. She righteously resents commercialized prostitution, the low legal age of consent for girls, the "conspiracy of silence" regarding venereal disease, and the whole "double standard of sex-morals" as degrading to her personality. It is in this connection that the new movements for sex education, sex hygiene, and eugenic marriage disclose their chief meaning. Hence they are invariably an accented part of the equal suffrage program.

Divorce and Woman's Independence

At last after centuries of discussion, often misdirected, we are beginning to grasp the real meaning of divorce. We now understand that divorce is justly sanctioned by the state as a remedy for marital ills. Essentially it is an effect and not a cause. In our country the relative number of divorces has increased threefold since 1870. Contrary to the once prevailing belief, we know positively, from a study of the great mass of statistics collected by the federal government, that this startling phenomenon is due neither to bad divorce laws nor to migration from state to state in the search for easy decrees. Legislation, lax or stringent, has small influence on the divorce rate. The accelerated divorce movement is due mainly to social conditions which lie far beyond the direct reach of the law-maker. To the student of moral progress it appears clearly as a factor in the process of spiritual liberation, already mentioned, which ever since the Reformation has been radically changing the relative positions of man and woman in the family and in the larger society. As the writer has elsewhere suggested, the extreme liberty of divorce in the United States is an "incident of the transition process in social evolution; and hence it is due primarily to social mis-selection and to the clash of ideals.'"[2] During the half century constituting the transition epoch above described, the old forces of social control have been weakened faster than the new forces have been developed. The old legal patriarchal bonds have not yet been adequately replaced by spiritual ties. There is frequent and disastrous clash of ideals. The new and loftier conception of equal rights and duties has rendered the husband and wife, and naturally the wife more often than the husband, sensitive to encroachment, and therefore the reaction is frequent and sometimes violent. In

[2] Consult Howard, "Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?" in American Sociological Society, *Publications*, iii (1908), 150–80; or the same in *American Journal of Sociology*, xiv, 766–96; *idem*, "Social Control of the Domestic Relations," in American Sociological Society, *Publications*, v (1910), 212–24; or the same in *American Journal of Sociology*, xvi, 805–17; *idem*, "Divorce and Public Welfare," in *McClure's Magazine*, xxxiv (1909), 232–42; *idem*, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, iii, chap. xviii.

For a luminous discussion of social conditions as the true causes of the divorce movement, read Dr. Lichtenberger's monograph, *Divorce: A Study in Social Causation* (New York, 1909).

the present experimental stage of reconstruction, the finer and more delicately adjusted social mechanism is easily put out of order. The evil lurks, not in the new ideals, but in the mistakes, the mis-selections, of the social builder.

The growing liberty of divorce has a peculiar interest for woman. She looks upon it as a safeguard to her personality. The wife more frequently than the husband is seeking in divorce an escape from marital ills. During the two decades (1887–1906) in the whole country more than 66 per cent of all decrees were granted on the wife's petition. Emphatically the divorce movement is in large part an expression of woman's growing independence. The ever extending list of statutory causes of divorce is thus a measure of what she regards as intolerable wrongs in the family. In the main, making all due allowance for mistakes, does not each new ground in effect give expression to a new ideal of moral fitness, of social justice, of conjugal rights? As civilization advances the more searching is the diagnosis of social disease and the more special or differentiated the remedy. Woman is demanding primarily, not less divorce, but fewer of the bad social conditions which now render the bitter medicine of divorce needful.

Equal Suffrage and the Family

In its present phase, the many-sided process of individualization for the sake of socialization is speedily extending the political franchise to women. What is the effect of equal suffrage upon woman herself and through her upon the welfare of the family? Is it enlarging and enriching her personality and so enabling her with greater ease and efficiency to perform her functions as wife and mother; or is it having the opposite result?

The appeal to experience discloses two significant facts which seem to show that for the highest political tasks of the present woman has a special preparation and a peculiar fitness. From the beginnings of society she has been an expert in the very problems and activities with which law and government are now most concerned. While the chief business of man was fighting and hunting, woman was inventing and practicing the arts of peace; attending to the welfare of mother, infant, and child; building the home and ordering the domestic economy. Today state and national legis-

lation deals more and more intimately with these things. They are the real values in civilization. Secondly, woman is proving her ability to do a full share of society's political work. Her capacity for organization and her administrative efficiency are being demonstrated ever in new and surprising ways. To her belongs the chief credit for creating the great organized social services. The regenerated American city is peculiarly woman's work. If their present achievements are an earnest of what they can do, it is to be hoped that women may be entrusted with a much larger share in public office.

The true function of the ballot clearly justifies its extension to woman. The ballot is the register of the individual's will in determining the character of social control. In an age when the traditional functions of the family are being largely vested in the overparentage of the state, would it not be illogical, a perverse policy, to refuse the wife and mother an equal voice in determining the nature of such "collective" parentage? The ballot is clearly an instrument through which woman may lighten and perform more efficiently the domestic duties which devolve upon her. The problems of disease and vice, for instance, so far as they menace the family welfare and threaten the happiness of mother and child, can be more rationally treated when woman may help make laws that shall ignore the dual standard of sex morality. The ballot aids the mother in the education of her child, especially of her boy. Because of inefficient family training, as already seen, the state has been forced to hand over to the teacher a very large share in the nurture of the young. For this the father is most to blame. Absorbed in business, he has practically abdicated his function as domestic teacher. He has laid that task on the shoulders of the mother, thus doubling her burden. Now, the so-called higher culture is rapidly becoming the possession of the woman rather than of the man. The boy should be trained for citizenship; for the wise conduct of a person entrusted with the ballot. As things are, so far as the young boy in the home is concerned, the needed training must come chiefly from the mother. Yet the mother's prestige is crippled. She is not a full active citizen. Not having the ballot, what can she know of its proper use? That is the psychology of the "suggestion" in the case. The ballot will give her prestige equal to that

of the father in her boy's mind; and so it will actually lighten her task as chief family teacher.

Her burden will be lessened still more, if the father may be called back from the office to the home to take his proper share in the training of the boy. Two things are urgently needed in the process of socialization: that the woman should have an opportunity to do a full share of the world's work; and that the man should take a full share in the work of the home. It is very true that woman's place is in the home. It is not less true that man's place is in the home. But the home is not merely a house, a physical dwelling place. It is a psychic, a spiritual fact; a group of ideals, relations, activities. It is vain to turn back the hand on the dial of progress. Marriage will indeed be holy when it rests on the troth-plight of equals. The home is indeed the human soul's most sacred temple. It will not be less sacred when through it flows the swift current of the larger social life. For, first and last, do not all human ideals, aims, and strivings center in the triad of personalities, the mother, father, and child?

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND SEX EQUALITY

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The agitation for sex equality began, as Ellen Key has intimated, when Eve reached for the apple. It entered upon its final stage in modern civilized society when peace loving and indulgent, if somewhat sceptical, husbands, fathers, college boards, and school commissioners began at last gradually to yield, during the first half of the nineteenth century, to the nagging of their women folk and decided, albeit with many misgivings, to let them try their minds on the man's curriculum.

Up to that time the education of women both here and in Great Britain had been at best, except in the case of a few fortunate individuals, a thing of shreds and patches. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the great majority of our foremothers must have been nearly, if not quite, illiterate. In one direction only was the girl thoroughly and soundly trained. No pains were spared to perfect her in the manifold, if somewhat primitive, industrial processes carried on within the household; and if the processes themselves and the methods of instruction tended to develop only manual dexterity rather than mental capacity, they were nevertheless truly educative so far as they went. It must be admitted that it still remains for modern education to develop a technique equally well adapted to the present organization of the household.

Except in this direction, however, the education of women even at the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century had gone little, if any, beyond the point looked upon as desirable by the gentlemen of the court of Charles II, who "thought that women were educated enough if they could spell out the recipes of pies and puddings, the manufacture of which nature had entrusted to their tender mercies." It was not until 1852, as Miss Talbot has pointed out in her book on the *Education of Women*, that a public high school education of any kind was available for girls in Boston, and the opening of the Girls' Latin School in 1878 gave them their first opportunity to prepare for college.

The story of the struggle for the education of women is beginning now to get itself told. Histories of the education of women in the United States or in particular states; biographies of leaders in the movement, such as Emma Willard, Mary Lyon, and Alice Freeman Palmer; magazine articles dealing with current phases of the educational problem—coeducation, the woman's college, vocational education—all these studies, issuing from the press in increasing numbers, are making it possible to trace with growing certainty the origin and tendencies of the movement. That means that one phase of it, at least, is fairly complete; that certain ideals that have been struggling for realization have at last got themselves established in our external social arrangements, and that the bearers of these ideals or their disciples now have a moment's breathing spell in which they can look back over the work and tell the rest of the world what the vision was that led them on and how it was wrought out into external reality.

They were quite clear in their minds as to what they wanted, these pioneers in the movement for women's education. Margaret Fuller made the classic statement of their demand:

> It is not the transient breath of poetic incense that women want; each can receive that from a lover. It is not life-long sway; it needs but to become a coquette, a shrew, or a good cook, to be sure of that. It is not money, nor notoriety, nor the badges of authority which men have appropriated to themselves. If demands, made in their behalf, lay stress on any of these particulars, those who make them have not searched deeply into the need. The demand . . . . is for that which is the birthright of every being capable of receiving it, the freedom, the religious, the intelligent freedom of the universe to use its means, to learn its secret, as far as nature has enabled them, with God alone for their guide and judge.

To most men that sounded rankly heretical. To the few leaders of the thought of the age it was only the logical next step in the democratic movement already well under way. During the previous century great masses of men had been very busily and successfully engaged in making and enforcing this same demand for themselves against other men, those of the privileged classes; but when women, in their usual unforeseen and unforeseeable fashion, made this demand for themselves against men—likewise a privileged class—the latter at first stood somewhat aghast and then conscientiously set in motion all the old forces of inherited belief, custom, and prejudice to oppose the spread of so pernicious a heresy.

Doubtless every privileged class that ever existed has been firmly persuaded that the continuance of its privileges was necessary to the truest welfare of the community of which it formed a part. And where such a class does not use its powers too despotically, it often succeeds, partly by its moderation, partly because of the very sincerity of its belief in its own beneficence, in imposing a like belief upon considerable numbers of not too perspicacious persons who do not share its privileges. This is the explanation of the feminine anti-suffragists.

So now the leaders of this movement for the liberation of feminine personality found arrayed against them the powerful forces of conservatism. Most men and some women joined in the chorus of protest, admonition, warning, and appeal. "Remember," cries Mrs. Barbauld, an excellent lady of wide culture and no small talent, but without the gift of prophecy, addressing the budding womanhood of her time, "Remember, your best, your sweetest empire is to please." It is exactly the sort of advice that a Turkish odalisque might expect from a benevolent slave dealer. Half a century later, the eloquent Mr. Ruskin, sugar coating the pill, to be sure, in his own charming fashion, was still offering to his feminine readers in Great Britain mental physic of this sort:

> All such knowledge should be given her [the girl] as may enable her to understand, and even to aid, the work of men: and yet it should be given, not as knowledge—not as if it were, or could be, for her an object to know; but only to feel and to judge.

And again:

> A woman in any rank of life, ought to know whatever her husband is likely to know, but to know it in a different way. His command of it should be foundational and progressive, hers, general and accomplished for daily and helpful use. Speaking broadly, a man ought to know any language or science he learns, thoroughly, while a woman ought to know the same language, or science, only in so far as may enable her to sympathize in her husband's pleasures, and in those of his best friends.

Even granting Ruskin's underlying assumption in regard to the relation of the sexes—"He for God only, she for God in him"—the sort of education he outlines would be wholly inadequate for the purposes indicated, but that is beside the point. What it is important to note is the fact that even while Ruskin was struggling to

clothe his somewhat puerile and futile thought on the subject of the education of girls in language sufficiently beautiful, the *Zeitgeist* had passed on. At almost the same time on the other side of the water Matthew Vassar was meditating his great gift and formulating his profoundly simple statement of his belief in the right of women to absolute equality of opportunity with men. A few years more and hundreds of young women, and some older ones, were standing at the doors of higher institutions of learning everywhere, demanding or begging for admission according as their individual natures prompted.

In vain did timid feminine souls plead with these bolder, liberty loving sisters not to "unsex" themselves, not to throw away their lovely feminine charm for the empty bauble of a trained intellect, which would, besides, get them no husbands. Equally in vain did learned divines and distinguished statesmen and educators mark out for them the divinely set boundaries of woman's sphere, which they could pass only at their peril. They were too keenly conscious of themselves as individuals, too deeply aware of their capacity to know and to do, too driven by the irrepressible demand for self-expression, too completely caught, in short, in the great forward surge of the democratic movement, to turn back.

It has been accounted folly on the part of those early advocates of women's rights that they minimized sex differences; that they insisted upon the fundamental likenesses between men and women and ignored or denied the differences; that they conceived of sex equality as possible only through identity of training, activity, and function. They saw far more clearly than their critics. It was literally true that the only path to any general recognition of sex equality for all women, college trained or not, lay through the successful accomplishment by large numbers of women of the curriculum of the man's college, and subsequent successful work in fields traditionally assigned to men.

Old beliefs and prejudices die hard. In a world whose intellectual and religious leaders had debated solemnly, not so many centuries before, whether women really had souls, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the masculine mind in general still clung tenaciously to the persuasion that where woman was concerned, man had been admitted to the counsels of the Almighty while woman herself had been carefully excluded; and that it was therefore his high duty and responsibility to determine the conditions under

which her work for the world was to be done. The pioneers saw quite clearly that if the democratic movement was not to be aborted, was not to fail of its full fruition, another bit of mental surgery was inevitable. Men's minds must be opened a little further. The thought of the last century must be carried to its logical conclusion. The belief that "*men* were created free and equal" and "had been endowed with certain inalienable rights" had, indeed, found firm lodgment in the social mind. That men meant women too was by no means so easily accepted. What was needed now was to compel a like general recognition of woman as an independent human personality, capable of determining her own ends, responsible for her own choices, and entitled to a voice in arranging the conditions of her life and work.

There was just one means to the accomplishment of that end. The mother sex might have gone on to the end of time training for and working at the mother task, under the old conditions prescribed by men, without either greatly improving the quality of their mothering or convincing men of their fitness for self direction. Nothing, indeed can fully win them that privilege except proved capacity to wrestle successfully with the same intellectual problems as men wrestle with, to do efficiently the same practical task, to keep pace with them in constructive thinking and creative work.

The first step in this "demonstration" is already fairly complete. Now and then some indiscreet professor or college president ventures to generalize from his "impressions" and, like President Hyde in *The College Man and the College Woman*, delivers himself of the opinion that the college woman, so obviously superior in undergraduate work, betrays, as compared with men students, a lack of power to organize "facts in the light of the universal principles that bind them into systematic unity"—a power essential to productive scholarship. But hardly has he gotten himself into print to this effect when a Miss Talbot, or somebody like her, points out that out of the whole number of students taking the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Chicago prior to July 1909, 15.6 per cent were women, 8.9 per cent were of the *rite* grade, 10.8 per cent of *cum laude*, 15.5 per cent of *magna cum laude*, and 20.7 per cent of *summa cum laude*.

Such opinions as this of President Hyde are apparently based not on observed facts but on preconceived notions—traditional

assumptions—as to the intellectual inferiority of women; and so long as these persist, particularly among those who should speak with authority, the woman's college is instinctively right in its sturdy maintenance of the principle that "there is no sex in mind," and in its steady refusal to introduce courses "to meet the special needs of women." Only when the rapidly accumulating achievements of women in fields heretofore almost monopolized by men—achievements in literature, science, art, social and civic betterment, law, medicine, theology—shall at last have won men's respect so completely that they really come to believe the education of women to be a matter of as serious import as that of men, not merely for what it portends to the oncoming generation but for the service it can render directly through the educated individual herself—then only can we hope for any general recognition of sex equality.

For the recognition of equality of any sort can be expected, after all, only where substantial equality exists; and there can be no question that, in actual achievement in most, if not all, fields of intellectual endeavor, women have in general lagged far behind their brothers. Eager and more or less resentful explanations of this fact are forthcoming on every hand, but woman's immediate task is not to explain the fact but to alter it. She forgets that only God can give credit for "what she aspired to be, and was not" because the demands of the race lay too heavy upon her, and that man's sentence can pass only on "the vulgar mass called 'work'—things done, that took the eye and had the price." Man on the other hand has inferred too readily from woman's non-performance of the tasks he has particularly valued her innate incapacity for performance. Hence this pretty quarrel of the sexes. It can be patched up when woman has offered in abundant measure the proof that man demands, hardly before.

Now at last, however, education has put into her hands the means of furnishing that proof and she has not been slow in seizing her opportunity. Only a trifle more than two generations have passed since women gained general access to a more than rudimentary education, while the first generation of college women are just beginning to lay down their work; yet already, from field after field, has come the protest against the "woman's invasion." Whether these protests are just and reasonable, or whether they are the expression of blind prejudice, they are incontrovertible evi-

dence of an extraordinarily rapid widening of the activities and influence of women.

The other day a volunteer committee of women, organized for the purpose of securing, if possible, the election of women delegates to the approaching constitutional convention in New York, issued a pamphlet setting forth briefly the services that trained women are rendering to the state in various fields,—in social work, both as employees of the state and as agents of volunteer, charitable, social, and civic organizations; in correctional work, as probation officers, superintendents of reformatories, etc.; in industry, as workers, as factory inspectors, as members of investigation commissions, as welfare workers, and as organizers of associations for the betterment of industrial conditions, such as the Women's Trade Union League and the Association for Labor Legislation; in education as teachers and superintendents and as pioneers in all the newer educational movements; in medicine, as practitioners and as leaders in the great public health movement through such means as tenement house inspection, medical inspection of school children, school nursing, abolition of the sweat shop, and the many activities carried on by such bureaus as that of child hygiene in the New York health department, which, under the leadership of a woman, maintains a staff of 196 medical inspectors and 650 trained nurses; in the civil service, in municipal and state boards—everywhere, an army of women called to serve the community in a large public way in spite of age-long tradition in favor of men for such service because, along with the trained mind and the balanced judgment, they could bring the woman's point of view, the woman's rich emotional experience, the woman's insight and quick intuition, qualities sorely needed and heretofore tragically lacking in our community dealings with some of the greatest of human problems.

In other fields also besides this of social service feminine achievement is growing apace, not in quantity only but in quality. More and more the work of women is coming to be judged by the same standards as that of men. More and more rarely do we hear a book, a picture, a bit of scientific investigation praised as "a remarkable piece of work for a woman." Gradually the world is coming to *expect* from women the same grade of work that it expects from men, and women know that every step in the growth of this expectation means for them an increase of opportunity.

The old chivalry that was rooted in a belief in woman's mental and physical inferiority has served its purpose as a civilizing force and is rapidly passing—is so far outgrown, indeed, that, like many other survivals, it has already become a source of irritation and annoyance, sometimes even a social menace. Working side by side with women in school and in college, competing with them for academic prizes and losing quite as often as he wins, sitting with them on boards and commissions appointed to deal with great public questions and finding them possessed of a fund of expert knowledge, a depth and breadth of human sympathy, and a sanity of practical judgment often superior to his own, man has begun at last to see that if women have fallen short in the sort of achievement that the world has accounted great, the reason must be sought elsewhere than in an assumption of their intellectual inferiority. He begins dimly to understand that woman has been what she has through the ages—toiling slave and bearer of children, instrument of his individual pleasure and comfort—not because it pleased the gods to make him a superior creature to whom such services were due, but because this was nature's plan for preserving and humanizing and civilizing the race. Here and there he even begins to question vaguely whether, in nature's eyes, he has after all held the center of the stage, as he had supposed; whether woman has not all the while sat securely at the heart of things, laboring directly at the central task of all the ages, toward the accomplishment of which his labor also, all of it, is only a contribution, and for the most part only an indirect one. This uneasy doubt makes it impossible for him to speak with his former easy assurance about the limits of woman's sphere. What if there should prove to be no limits, or if the limits of the two spheres should coincide!

Woman, meantime, given command of the instruments of thought, is working her way slowly and sometimes painfully toward a solution of her peculiar problem—how to reconcile the conflicting claims of her own individuality and of the race. So far in the upward struggle she has unquestionably borne more than her fair share of the race burden. She is coming to believe now that the race needs for its perfection no longer the sacrifice but the full development of her individual gifts and powers, and she demands not that the race burden be lifted but that it be equalized. She begins to see that if her development has been one-sided, man's has been no less so, though in

an opposite direction; and that what the race really needs is not more mothering but more fathering.

Perhaps it is a more or less definite recognition of the fact that sex equality can be achieved only by shifting to the man's shoulders a part of the race burden heretofore borne by the woman that makes him so wary of it; but he sealed his own fate when he yielded weakly to feminine wheedling in the matter of education. Nemesis is already at his heels.

FEMINISM AND CONVENTIONALITY

By Elsie Clews Parsons,

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A few years ago there was discussion in academic circles over differentiating the college curriculum of women from that of men. Surely the curriculum for men is not so satisfactory, it was urged, that it cannot be improved. Besides, the educational needs of women may be different, if only a little, from the needs of men. "True, perhaps," was the answer of the advocates of an identical curriculum, "but even so, we can't *afford* to differentiate, as yet at least. To give women as 'good' an education as men, we must give them the *same* education. That is the only way we can keep up the standard." And hitherto in the colleges this plea, right or wrong, has governed. It is the same argument that underlies feminist effort in other fields. That women may have as *ample* opportunities throughout society as men, they must have, it is felt, more or less consciously, the *same* opportunities. Society is after all very simple minded, one new idea at a time is its measure. Let not feminism confuse its issues. Before women can improve on men's ways, those ways, one and all, must be open to women.

Whether or not this is sound feminist doctrine, it is the clue to an understanding of much of the feminist agitation of today. It suggests, too, some of the directions still to be taken by the feminist movement. It may be profitable therefore to consider some of the differentiations[1] in habits and customs that have arisen in society for the lives of men and women, the differentiations of daily life and of life at crises, not overlooking, where we can discern them, the psychological reasons for these differentiations.

"So long as a lady shall deem herself in need of some gentleman's arm to conduct her properly out of a dining or ballroom,"

[1] Not all; feministic discussion must confine itself, for example, to the exclusiveness of men, trusting that the exclusiveness of women will some day be a matter for hominist agitation. The farseeing feminist trusts, too, that the legal rights of men will cease to be neglected—inequalities before the law in responsibility for crime, for example, and in matters of property (damages for breach of promise, alimony, or any legal obligation to support women).

wrote an American publicist over half a century ago, "so long as she shall consider it dangerous or unbecoming to walk half a mile alone by night—I cannot see how the Woman's Rights' theory is ever to be anything more than a logically defensible abstraction." If this opinion of Horace Greeley is to be taken as a prediction that the Woman's Rights' platform of his time would not be enacted until another measure of freedom was secure to women, it has not been justified by the course of events. Property disqualifications have been entirely removed from women, the right of guardianship has become theirs (to the extent it was originally desired), and the days are counted to their possession, throughout the country, of the right of suffrage. These rights are theirs and yet it still embarrasses a woman to stand alone in a ballroom or sit with other women after the men have come out from the smoking-room; and it may be that the woman allured by the mystery of solitude under the stars is still rare. But perhaps what Greeley meant to say was that economic or political reform would not greatly affect women as long as the conventionalities of their daily life remained unchanged. If so, was he not, in the main, right and for his period extraordinarily discerning? Even today, many a suffragist, however ardent, is unpossessed of this insight. Anxious beyond measure for the vote, she is wholly unperturbed by the constraints of her daily life. Loath to be wholly dependent upon men in the limited number of matters which make up government, she is willing enough to be dependent upon them and upon women too in those endless details of daily life any woman might be expected to determine for herself. I recently attended a political convention at Saratoga where several women were lobbying for suffrage. One evening one of them wanted to go with a man to a dance, but she would not go, I overheard her declare, unless another woman went with them. The following afternoon another suffragist who had started to motor to New York took the train at Albany because, thanks to an unforeseen emergency, one of the two men motoring with her had to remain in Albany. "I couldn't think of getting into New York after midnight with only one man . . . ." Is not chaperonage a more important question for women, I wonder, than suffrage?

Comparative inability to choose either solitariness or their company is not characteristic merely of modern women. In no culture have women shown desire to do anything which requires running

the risks of being alone. Women hermits are extremely scarce, there are few women explorers, there are no women vagabonds, even the licensed adventuress, too restricted in her activity for any real adventure, is outcasted in a group. Rarely indeed do women go off by themselves—into the corner of a ballroom, into the wilderness, to the play, to the sacred high places of the earth or to the Islands of the Blessed. Penelope stays at home. Her reasons for staying at home vary, of course. She has to help her mother; she will be raped by a licentious male, a man or perhaps a god; she owes obedience to her parents; she will lose her reputation; she will give birth to a monster or her baby will die; she has to get the dinner ready; she has to look after the baby; she will bring disgrace to her family, dishonor to her husband, shame upon her children, disaster to her clan.

Whatever the sanctions, whatever the necessities or the excuses, woman's place having been in the home, her acquaintances have been restricted to the family circle and to the segments of the other family circles it overlaps. And with these friends and relatives her intercourse is unbroken and more or less incessant. The womanly woman has ever been an available woman, "always there when you wanted her." From such "home life" there have been for all women two prime outcomes. The unfamiliar person, the stranger, has been feared and shunned, more feared and shunned by women even than by men. Women in other words are peculiarly apprehensive of people of other localities, of other tribes or nations, of other castes, of other sets; and with such outlanders or outsiders they have as little to do as possible. Women are "inhospitable." They are "snobs." They are "full of prejudices." They are not "good mixers."

But to this characteristic tendency of women to keep to themselves, there are two exceptions. Within the home itself women associate with strangers, *i.e.*, with those unlike themselves, unlike in age and in sex, and seldom, too, are the times when women do not have to put up with this association. Being "home bodies," they cannot get away, like men, from their children or their parents, they have to make the best of their brothers or their husbands. Face to face with these heterogeneities of sex or age, women have raised up barriers against them, carefully regulating their relations with their juniors and seniors and with the other sex. Their attitude

is very conventional with members of different age classes and with men, more conventional, I mean, than that of men with women or with those unlike in age—and this is the second important outcome for women of their home life. Upon women age and sex taboos are heavier than upon men. And it is they who are the foremost teachers of the proprieties, of politeness, of good manners, of the amenities—all rules of conduct for life with others more or less unlike yourself and yet not to be avoided.

With beings unlike yourself the alternative to conventionality is avoidance. And that alternative is taken on the whole by men in relation both to their juniors and seniors[2] and to women. More or less unconsciously they avoid women and more or less deliberately they exclude them from their interests and their places of assembly—from their economic pursuits, from their learned professions, from their games and pastimes, from their club-houses, churches,[3] forums, council halls, universities, and play-houses. Even the initiative in the avoidance practiced within the family group is taken, I surmise, by men.[4] At home and away from it such seclusiveness and exclusiveness in men result, of course, in increasing the differences between them and women. Increased differences stimulate to greater seclusiveness or exclusiveness; we get a closed circle.

[2] Although classification by age is characteristic of every society, our specific data on age classes are scant and very scattered; but from what I have from others and have observed at first hand I am inclined to believe that seniority is more of a bar in daily intercourse between adult men than between women. The fact that men see comparatively little of children hardly needs mention. Seeing them seldom, they can afford, they feel, to treat them as contemporaries. This is a reason why children "take to men" and not, as a fond mother sometimes alleges, because men are novelties. Children, like women, dread the Stranger.

[3] From religious exclusiveness almost all other forms of exclusiveness can be traced just as all the professions were differentiated from the priesthood and as games and the arts had religious origins. But the exclusion of women from the derivatives of ecclesiasticism is no mere historical sequence or survival. History gives it the sanction of the past in given cases, but it has an ever fresh psychological spring.

[4] Among us it is the son-in-law who avoids his mother-in-law and there appears to be no evidence that it is the other way round among savages where this practice is more formal. At any rate it is the father-in-law in every society who avoids his daughter-in-law and not *vice versa*. Everywhere, too, it is "up to" the boy to stop "hanging round" his mother and playing with his sisters.

For the moment let us turn away from this closed circle to consider certain sex differentiations in customs at times of crisis. We noted that the heterogeneities of sex and of age are more constantly under the noses of women, so to speak, than of men. Women are closer to life, we sometimes say, meaning that they are face to face with birth and growth, decay and death. And so it is to be expected that they, rather than men, will play the leading parts in the policy human beings have chosen to meet the changes of life—the policy of ignoring the change until it is inevitable and then mitigating the shock of it through the diversion of ceremonial.[5] And women do play in the ceremonial of crisis the more prominent or lasting rôles. Mourning observances are far more elaborate for women than for men and far more prolonged. So are wedding and honeymoon observances, although in them of course the character of duality must preclude any great differentiation.[6] As for puberty or initiation ceremonial, that curious means of breaking the shock of realizing that the young have grown up, if women appear to take a less important part in it than men, reasons consistent with our general interpretation are not hard to find. The initiation of boys means they are leaving home. No amount of ceremonial can disguise that break. Were they to stay on at home in a different relation to it, then the women might enter more strikingly into their man-making rites.[7] As it is, all women can do is to express ceremonially their distress at "losing" their boys. Andamanese women "weep over" an initiate the morning after he breaks his turtle fast. Throughout the first night of an initiation Mita-Koodi women are expected to wail. The kinswomen of an Euahlayi initiate are supposed to be so much in need of comforting that the old men bring them presents of food. In other Australian tribes we find rites to symbolize the separation imminent between the initiate and his kinswomen. Among the Kurnai he sprinkles his mother with water, among the Arunta he throws his boomerang towards her spirit camp to show her, the

[5] Under the rubric of *Ceremonial Reluctance* I am preparing a fuller statement of this shock absorber theory of ceremonial.

[6] The veiling of the bride and her seclusiveness before and after the wedding are the most notable. But the bridal couple apart, the women of the family are more concerned with the marriage ceremonial than the men.

[7] As they do at the nubility of girls; for the "coming out" rites of girls do not mean a break with family life.

ethnographers suggest, that all is at an end between them.[8] But the initiates are turning their backs on their mother only to turn their faces towards their father and their father's friends. For these seniors, upon taking into their life youthful participants, an adjustment is necessary, and it is for them to get it over with as quickly and easily as possible. Naturally they resort to the usual social method, the method of ceremonial. It is plain enough why men figure rather than women in the puberty or initiation rites to celebrate a boy's growing up.

But there are other conditions in the life of men besides an adjustment to their juniors to be met with ceremonial or with conventionality. Their contacts with all their non-familial groups, the groups they resort to when they leave home, when they go out "to meet a man," all these associations have to be entered upon with ceremonial and, their membership never entirely homogeneous, safeguarded with conventionalities. Hence presentations and introductions of all kinds, the conferring of orders or degrees, the induction into office, "treating" and the "sacred laws of hospitality." Hence tribal or patriotic standards, professional etiquette, chivalry, the code of a gentleman, and many other caste taboos or rules. In all these matters women figure far less than men, of course, for the simple enough reason that they are out of touch with the different groups concerned. They have avoided them or they have been excluded from them. Then when they do begin to seek admission into these non-familial groups we may note that very often they ride roughshod over their conventionalities,[9] breaking their rules, either because they are ignorant of them or because they see in them little or no value. This procedure, whatever its explanation, is very disturbing to men, distasteful to them and even abhorrent. And often enough it is the more or less unconscious anticipation of such violations by women, of such misbehaviour, that sets men so bitterly against opening the doors to them. Merely to lessen masculine apprehensiveness and to overcome masculine antagonism women might do

[8] The rigid separation of initiates from females is also more of a symbol of sex segregation, I think, than a practical measure against sexual intercourse. It is a concentration rite, a synopsis, so to speak, of the life ahead of them, life apart from women.

[9] An infraction we recognize when we say, for example, that women have no sense of honor, or that women dislike "red tape."

well to adopt quickly and unquestioningly masculine conventionalities.

But even if women develop a sense of honor and a respect for masculine routine, even if they shear their hair and dress like men, even if they keep men's hours, and work and play like men, even if they smoke and swear and get drunk like men, even if they succeed in getting from the outside the loyalty and *esprit du corps* that usually come only with participation in the life of the group, learning to swim, in other words, without going near the water, even if they conform in all these ways, differences will still exist between them and men, natural differences, urges the anti-feminist, and should not these natural differences receive appreciation and be given social expression? However we may answer this question, it does not quite meet the point of masculine exclusiveness. It is *apprehension of difference* rather than actual difference which bulks so large now and always in the social regulation of sex. It is fear of the unlike rather than the fact of it. The anti-feminist wishes to keep women apart from men not because he values sex differences, but because he fears them. He or she is not so anxious to preserve them as to get away from them, to be protected from the danger of being disturbed by them. Differences in age, in caste, in family, and in race, have filled mankind with analogous apprehensions and prompted analogous methods and plans of self-protection.

Age-class, caste group, family, and race, each has its own closed circle—from unlikeness to exclusion or seclusion, from exclusion or seclusion to unlikeness—but each of these vicious circles the modern spirit has begun to invade and break down. In the spirit of our time fear of the unlike is waning, and *pari passu* intolerance. Fear of the unlike and intolerance are due to fear of change, and that fear, whether of change wrought by life or of change threatened by the stranger, that great fear, is passing. With it are bound to go the devices of self-protection it prompted—ceremonial, conventionality, and segregation. In this general movement of the human spirit feminism was born; upon its march the hopes of feminism ultimately must depend.

THE LEGISLATIVE INFLUENCE OF UNENFRANCHISED WOMEN

By Mary R. Beard,

Secretary, Legislative Committee, Women's Trade Union League of New York

The forces which actually mold and determine legislative policies in modern society are among the deepest mysteries of political science. Generally speaking, men have had the suffrage for nearly a century in the United States, and yet we still talk, and with reason, of "invisible government," "government by public opinion," "government by common counsel," wondering how much numerical majorities at the polls really count for after all. That the "invisible government" is forceful enough and keen enough to defeat again and again solemn judgments made at the polls is patent to all. Our talk about "bossism" and "big business in politics" is not mere gossip. Investigation after investigation has revealed the reality of the economic influences in modern legislation. Even the late Senator Platt, always reticent in the presence of inquisitors, admitted that the large sums which he received from the life insurance companies "might" have had some influence on legislation at Albany. Anti-lobby legislation is another piece of testimony to the effect that the "popular will" registered at the polls is not always the "will" registered at the state capitol. The growth of direct government is an evidence of the voters' suspicion that other influences than those of the ballot box operate on their "representatives."

If it is true that powerful economic interests, organized and always alert, have often written their will into law, through popular representatives and in spite of popular will, what can we say of the weight of beneficent influences, and particularly the influence of voteless women? If we cannot estimate accurately the weight of popular will expressed at the polls on legislation, or the weight of determined economic interests, how can we hope, with any degree of success, to gauge the intermittent efforts of women to advance or retard the progress of legislation in many fields? In the absence of data of a scientific character, we can only fall back upon certain

more or less popular conclusions about women's influence, some of which have arisen from vague opinion or uncertain feelings, only slightly tinged with information.

These conclusions rest in fact upon such readily available data as the following: the testimony of politicians and legislators as to the extent of women's influence which they have been compelled to recognize; individual examples of moral persuasion or statesmanlike wire-pulling on the part of women; organized efforts of women for the accomplishment of definite programs; lobbies in legislative chambers maintained by women; and coöperation with men in organized legislative effort.

Only the most striking instances can be given of the testimony of legislators as to the influence exercised upon them by women. The first example, and probably the most forceful one, that comes to mind is in connection with the extension of the privilege of voting to women. "When women want it they will get it" is admitted even by the most hardened anti. Men on platform committees, men at the primaries, men at the polls, men in their legislative halls and in judiciary committees would gladly escape the importunities of the persistent hordes of women who descend upon them to question them as they go into meeting places or polling booths about their intentions and question them again as they come forth about their acts with regard to the enfranchisement of women. Where women in large organized groups protest vigorously against the extension of the suffrage, their influence is undoubtedly felt in the legislatures and at the polls, and the cry of defense by the legislator and the voter becomes: "Women do not want to vote." In either case, the proposition in the popular mind is left to the decision of women. Suffrage, when submitted at the polls, is generally won by women through their activity in persuading voters to ballot in its favor. Without their constant hammering at every man whom they can reach, women know, and men know and admit, that the franchise would never be extended to women.

The clearest evidence of this fact lies in the pressure now being exerted for the Bristow-Mondell federal amendment to bring enfranchisement more speedily to all the women of the country. Driven by the women who are now included among their voting constituents, and sometimes boldly admitting it, senators and representatives from suffrage states are asking, seriously at last, for this legislation.

Driven by fear of the possibility of women soon forming part of their voting constituents, men from suffrage campaign states are espousing the same amendment or hesitating to oppose it hoping for its postponement; while in the South, where neither woman suffrage nor campaign states, in the strict sense of the term, exist, congressmen are beginning to find themselves in a dilemma owing to the growing support of the amendment among the women of their districts and the additional and more potent fact that the women voters of the North are questioning the attitude of the Democratic party toward the amendment—thus making suffrage a serious issue in view of the present and possible electoral vote to be determined by voting women in 1916. In national politics, then, the influence of women on legislation dealing with their own enfranchisement is plainly seen. It is this which led the Virginia member of the judiciary committee in the House of Representatives to exclaim in committee last spring: "I shall no longer be responsible for holding up this discussion in the House."

Further testimony to the part borne by women in their own enfranchisement is given by Colonel Roosevelt in his recent statement to leading women of the Progressive party in New York:

> I believe that the surest way of bringing about a realization of one feature of the Progressive party program, that of securing the vote for women, is the constant development of what are already the social and industrial activities of women within the Progressive party.

The strongest argument in its favor, thus set forth by the men who incorporated the suffrage feature into the Progressive platform, is the influence of women on other legislation.

Representative government is, to some extent at least, a government by petition, legislators responding to personal appeals from individuals and organizations when they are powerful enough to arouse interest or alarm. National as well as state legislation has been effected in this way by women, if the testimony of men like Harvey W. Wiley is accepted. In his campaign for pure food laws, he stated repeatedly that his strongest support came from women's organizations. That support was not passive and moral, merely expressed to him privately, but these women inundated Congress with letters, telegrams, petitions pleading for the passage of the laws in question. These communications were presented to Congress by

their recipients who often urged, as their reason for supporting pure food laws, the appeals of women whose interest in food should not be ignored.

The Consumers' League of New York helped the National Food Committee to defeat a mischievous amendment to the Gould bill which requires that all package goods should be labeled as to the amount of their contents. The amendment would have nullified the provisions of the bill for the very cheap package goods, and thus exploited those least able to detect frauds. The amendment was defeated through the joint activity of these two associations and the wide interest shown by women.

Of course women are not the only senders of appeals to congressmen. They are wise enough to know that, in most cases, congressmen are more affected by men whose votes elect or defeat them. Women therefore prod busy men into letter-writing and the transmission of telegrams. They seek out influential men and see that their messages are sent. The congressman, therefore, who is anxious to represent the people, lays before his colleagues this combined evidence of what his "people" want. The existence of a certain degree of "government by petition" is disclosed by statements made to women lobbyists by legislators that they see "little popular interest" in a proposed kind of legislation because more appeals have come to them for "bird protection" or for the appointment of a commission to study the subject further than for immediate legislation upon it. This is submitted in evidence that what the people including women, want, they get unless the interests arrayed against it are too powerful.

In addition to the indirect influence of petitions, there are instances, that are interesting though rare, of the direct accomplishment of legislation by individual voteless women. Mrs. Albion Fellowes Bacon, of Indiana, practically single-handed, secured the first tenement house laws of value for Evansville and Indianapolis. She did this before the National Housing Association, of which she is now a director, was formed. The recent improvements in the Indiana housing legislation are due apparently to her continued leadership and to the public opinion which she has helped to create. In her case it was personal initiative and moral persuasion.

Another example of personal influence on legislation exerted by women is that of Frances Perkins of New York in her fight for

the Fifty-Four Hour bill for the women workers of her state. Unlike Mrs. Bacon, Miss Perkins represented a society—the Consumers League—which asked for this measure, and she was supported in her demand by the Women's Trade Union League and other organizations. The measure would have been defeated, however, as is widely known and acknowledged in New York, had it not been for the personal sagacity and watchfulness of Miss Perkins who captured a senator of dominating power and prevented his escape in a taxi to the station in time to restore him to his seat in the chamber—his vote on the floor bringing with him the votes he controlled. More than one refugee has been escorted back to his duties by women sentinels when legislation on which they were determined has been up for a vote. In such cases the woman's influence lies not in physical force, for she has never been seen to lay hands upon the recalcitrant legislator, but in the occasional subservience of the mind of man to the actual presence of a moral force.

Organized efforts, however, are ordinarily more effective than individual prowess, and women as well as men have learned this fact. Whoever will take the trouble to examine the files of *The American Club Woman*, the organ of the women's clubs of the United States, which records the doings of women's clubs all over the country, cannot fail to be impressed with the drift of women's activities in the direction of legislative action. Societies formed to study Browning or Shakespeare soon begin to be concerned about local improvements of one kind or another. They become interested, for example, in the inadequate recreational facilities of their town or city, and when they begin to act in the matter they usually find it necessary to secure positive legislation or at least appropriations, and thus they are led into bringing their influence to bear either upon the state legislature or the local council.

Every issue of *The American Club Woman* contains notices of such activities on the part of local clubs, and these are supplemented by reports of such local associations themselves. Take, for example, the 1913–14 *Year Book of the Woman's Club of York, Pennsylvania.* The Public Playgrounds Committee of that club announces that in addition to the funds raised by it privately, "the city appropriated $150 to the work, with the result that through excellent management receipts are in comfortable excess over expenditures." The Social Service Committee of the same club states that "in the first

year of its existence, it has done important and effective work. It was largely responsible for the passage of an ordinance by city councils regulating dance halls."

Take, for another example, the 1912 *Year Book of the Woman's Municipal League of New York City*, selected at random from among a hundred reports of women's associations, and we find recorded on pages 14 to 18 a contest waged by that organization against a certain motion picture ordinance. The report runs:

> The members of the Woman's Municipal League were requested to write to their aldermen, urging them to oppose the Folks ordinance. . . . . The members heartily responded to this request and almost every alderman received communications on the subject. When the day set for voting upon the Folks ordinance arrived, its sponsors deemed the risk of its defeat too great to warrant them in bringing it to a vote.

Similar activities, both positive and negative, can be discovered in the records of practically every woman's association not organized for purely literary purposes. And even literary societies, as remarked above, are becoming socially minded.

These local clubs, as is well known, are federated into state and national associations, and an examination of the minutes of these larger federations shows that more and more organized women are seeing the importance of agreeing on certain measures of fundamental concern to women and society at large, and pressing them to a successful completion in the legislatures of their respective states. The files of the reports of the national assembly of women's clubs, to be found in any well equipped library, reveal the growing solidarity of women, their increasing concern about social and economic problems, and their increasing agreement on positive measures of legislative action.

In addition to these general clubs and societies, there are special women's organizations, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Council of Jewish Women, and the Women's Trade Union League. The first of these associations has stood for better protective laws for women and children as well as for measures directed against the liquor traffic. In their warfare upon liquor, women have discovered the relation of wages, overcrowding, long hours, and other economic factors to the consumption of alcoholic stimulants; and are considering preventive as well as prohibitory legislation. The second of these associations, while concerned pri-

marily with the safeguarding of Jewish immigrant women and girls, has been drawn more and more into the development of social and correctional legislation. The Women's Trade Union League, in addition to organizing wage working women, devotes special efforts to obtaining protective labor legislation, including an eight-hour day for women and woman suffrage.

It is safe to say, therefore, that in the progress of modern social legislation of all kinds—the extension of educational functions, pure food laws, mothers' pensions, development of recreational facilities, labor laws, particularly for women and children, and measures directed against prostitution—not a single important statute has been enacted without the active support of women, organized and unorganized. This much we may say without attempting to apportion to women the exact weight of their influence.

Important as has been that influence, there can be no doubt that in cases of serious labor legislation affecting large employing interests women's weight has been almost negligible in many instances. Indeed, one of the New York legislators, in a very friendly and confidential talk with the representatives of the Women's Trade Union League, told them that the 35,000 voteless women whom they represented naturally could not carry the same weight as thirty-five voting men. It was just such frank statements as this that turned Florence Kelley and many leading social workers, who sought legislation in their various fields, into ardent suffragists.

Other social workers, anxious to accomplish immediate results and unwilling to wait for universal suffrage, have discovered that one of the best ways to increase women's influence in legislation is to join associations which include men as well as women, even if they have to do all of the work. How far this is consciously done one cannot say, but it remains a fact that much of women's effective legislative work is done in connection with those organizations which draw no sex lines. The weight of women in such societies is evidenced by the number of important executive positions which they hold in local, state, and national organizations for the promotion of public health, education, recreation, housing reform, and the improvement of labor conditions.

In child labor organizations, hospital organizations seeking larger appropriations for social service, anti-tuberculosis work, labor legislation committees, the prevailing testimony, even from women,

is to the effect that "we consider our greatest strength in the fact that our work is done by the coöperation of men and women." Emily Bissell, president of the anti-tuberculosis society of Delaware, says for example:

> All our work on tuberculosis has been done by women and men working together and while the women's clubs have done their part, the men, in their beneficial societies, labor unions, Catholic and Jewish associations, etc., have all had their part, and it will be difficult to disentangle their activities from ours. All this is as it should be, but it makes data more difficult than when restricted to either sex.

Women are more and more loath to accept all the credit for social legislation today and men seem actuated by the same spirit.

In response to hundreds of inquiries made within the past year to societies all over the country for information relative to the specific work of women, came a large proportion of replies to the following effect: "We fear we can give you no help as all our work is done through committees of men and women." The American Civic Association, the National Municipal League, the National Child Labor Committee, the American Public Health Association, the National Labor Legislation Committee, the National Housing Association, teaching and medical societies, make no sex distinctions now in their membership or official leadership. Scarcely a single society for social work or legislation today feels that it can go before the people without the names of Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop or other prominent women printed upon its letter heads. Their appreciation of the worth of these names is vague, yet positive.

With such evidence as we now have before us, we may say truly that women's influence on legislation has grown, is growing, and will grow. This is not very definite in itself, but it marks a long journey from woman's old spheres, the three Ks. And it is interesting to note that those women most actively using indirect influence are coming to prefer direct action on their own account.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES

By Florence Kelley,

New York City.

It was the intention of the writer to outline briefly the contribution to social legislation made by women in our country during the past three-quarters of a century. Instead of this, however, the tragedy of the continent of Europe bids us pause and review, under its shadow, all our social activities. It warns us to test them, to weigh them soberly and, perhaps, to change wholly their direction.

For forty years the rulers of Europe have been steadily preparing this catastrophe. Money needed for bread and for schools has been, decade after decade, spent for guns and ammunition, for barracks, and for maintaining in them millions of young men forced to be idle in their best working years. Today in Europe the social gains of all the weary years since the wars of Napoleon are in peril. Whoever wins in the end, every warring nation will be the poorer in men, in homes, in health, and in hope.

With the honorable exception of the Socialist party, the voters in England, France, Germany and Austria elected to office throughout those forty years the candidates of the militarist parties. The voters thus consciously shared the fatal responsibility. Under the shadow of this world tragedy who stands, today, in Europe with clean hands? Only the women who have no vote, no share in the government—and the children. But when their sons lie buried in foreign soil, and the babes in their arms wilt and starve, what avails it for the mothers in the warring nations that their own personal consciences are clear of all share in preparing these horrors?

Against the gruesome background of the European war stands forth the social fact that, since our own Civil War, followed by the emancipation of four million slaves a half century ago, the most important social legislation achieved in our country has been the enfranchisement of three million women in ten states and Alaska. For the first time in human history three million women can, within their own nation, act with the power of full citizens in relation to

peace and war. They can help to decide that never again shall the fruits of social legislation be swept away by men in arms.

Seen in the glare of the events of our time, by far the most vital social reform now pending is, accordingly, the Bristow-Mondell resolution,[1] which, after receiving a majority vote in the Senate of the United States, is before the House Committee on Rules. For when this resolution receives the two-thirds vote in both Houses prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, it will go for ratification to the legislatures; and when thirty-six legislatures ratify it, all the women of the nation will become full voting citizens.

[1] *The Bristow-Mondell Amendment.* Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1.

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"Article.—Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

[2] Of the required thirty-six legislatures, twenty-one are probably now ready to ratify. That is certainly the position of the legislatures in the ten states in which women now vote. Nine more legislatures are presumably ready, inasmuch as they have voted to submit to a referendum the amendments to state constitutions which are now pending. These are Nevada, Montana, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts. The legislatures of Wisconsin and Michigan also within recent years referred to the voters amendments to their state constitutions, Michigan doing so twice in two consecutive years. (The governor of the state vetoed the second bill.)

Fifteen states will have to ratify the Bristow-Mondell amendment besides the twenty-one here specified. It is reasonable to suppose that these will be Nebraska, Missouri and Ohio, whose citizens have filed initiative petitions to be followed by popular vote in November, 1914; the five New England states which border Massachusetts; Delaware, West Virginia and Maryland, which form the southern boundaries of Pennsylvania; Indiana and Kentucky, contact states of Illinois; Minnesota between Wisconsin and the Dakotas; and Oklahoma, neighboring state of Colorado.

This calculation rests upon the observed fact that the enfranchisement

Cumbersome as is this procedure, it is by no means an impossible undertaking as has been shown by the recent ratification of two amendments in a single year.[3]

A characteristic change in the legislative activities of women in the present century is their tendency to work with men rather than in associations exclusively their own. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Council of Women, the Federation of Women's Clubs, with its many valuable committees promoting legislation, date back into the nineteenth century. But the many newer national organizations for promoting long life, good health and improved morals comprise both men and women. This tendency to work together makes it increasingly difficult to discriminate the share of women in the accomplished legislation. Even where women vote, their ballots are not usually distinguishable from those of men.

The permanent social and industrial interests of modern women are, however, well illustrated by four bills pending before Congress, as to each one of which the Consumers' League, for instance, wields a laboring oar. These are the Booher bill, dealing with the labor of prisoners, the bill for safety at sea, the Palmer child labor bill, and the resolution for an appropriation to enable the Bureau of Labor to investigate the cost of living in the District of Columbia. The proposed beneficiaries of these four bills are all working people, each group peculiarly helpless after its own kind. They are wage-earning women in the District of Columbia where neither they nor the men of their families can defend their interests with ballots; second, children anywhere employed in mines, quarries, factories and workrooms; third, seamen who are, as their name suggests, usually afloat and unable to make themselves heard from as constituents during campaigns for electing senators and representatives; and, finally, prisoners who, of all the working class, are the most indescribably defenseless.

The proposed federal official enquiry into the cost of living in

of women has, with the exception of Illinois, spread from one state where women vote to its next neighbor. A state, moreover, in which a campaign preceding a referendum is in process, arouses the greatest interest of all in its adjoining neighbors.

[3] Authorizing Congress to establish an income tax, and providing for the direct election of United States senators by popular vote in the states.

the District of Columbia is meant to prepare the way for a minimum wage commission for the District, kindred to the commissions already at work fixing minimum wages for women and girls in Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon and Washington. It is particularly timely because of the 8-hours law for women in the District enacted last winter and already in effect. This federal bill is one link in the long chain of increasingly successful efforts to standardize the wages and working hours of women and girls. In this nation-wide struggle, the supreme courts of New York and Illinois have reversed themselves and held, in the end, that the working hours of women may be limited by statute, the Supreme Court of the United States having previously so decided. The number of persons affected by the proposed federal investigation is obviously small. The importance of the enquiry must not, however, be gauged by its size, but rather by its position as a link in the chain. For, whenever the federal government, acting upon the facts elicited, establishes, as it sooner or later must do, a minimum wage commission for the District, a most valuable impetus will be given to the movement for such commissions in all the states. No legislation can be more thoroughly social in its character than this. For disease and vice are forever rooted in the cruel injustice that leaves to blind competition the determination of the recompense of labor.

The Federal Child Labor Bill

The Palmer federal child labor bill is proposed in the interest of the children, and of all enlightened and humane employers and communities who suffer the competition of the mean or of the benighted. It is, finally, meant to satisfy the consciences of enlightened women who are dependent upon the federal government for that which they cannot do for themselves and their individual states cannot do for them.

Intelligent mothers prefer not to buy the products of the labor of children. But after fifteen years of effort by the Consumers' League, and ten years' work of the National Child Labor Committee, it is still impossible to learn whether a supply of cotton goods comes from a mill in Massachusetts working under the children's 8-hours law, or from the southern branch of the same mill working under the odious, new, sham law of Georgia. Women are still unable to keep

their consciences clear of sharing indirectly as consumers in the employment of young boys at night in the Pennsylvania glasshouses and steel mills, and of children in the cotton mills of North and South Carolina, or under the cruel conditions of cannery work in Maryland or on the Gulf Coast. They are, therefore, in no faltering terms asking Uncle Sam to safeguard by the Palmer bill all his children precisely as he safeguards, once for all, through his patent office and his federal courts, those patents under which the cotton manufacturers and the canners have alike grown rich and powerful.

Under the Palmer child labor bill, factories, workshops, mines, quarries and dealers are all alike forbidden to ship, in interstate commerce, goods in producing which children have been employed before the fourteenth birthday, or during the night, or more than eight hours in twenty-four, or at risk of life, limb or health.

A generous share of the work and money needed to promote this eminently social federal statute comes from women who both serve as trustees of the National Child Labor Committee and are among its most eager, faithful members in the several states. Women have always been a majority in the Consumers' League membership, its principal financial supporters, and most active in its legislative efforts.

Prison Contract Labor

As purchasers, as spenders of the family income responsible for the moral, physical and social consequences of their disbursements, women have no means of learning which goods are made in prisons and which by free labor. Except in the narrow range of stitched goods that carry the Consumers' League label, or the trade union label, this statement is sweepingly true.

The Booher convict contract labor bill is, therefore, intended to place prison products, whenever they may be shipped into a state, under the laws of that state, whatever those laws may be. For want of this federal law, garments may be sold, for instance, in New York City, which are made in another state by prisoners suffering from loathesome diseases communicable in clothing. The characteristic prison maladies are tuberculosis and syphilis. Yet New York state, which forbids such traffic within its own borders, cannot guard its citizens against this risk of disease coming from without, cannot enable them to be warned of the source of these

wares. For the Court of Appeals of New York held, in the Hawkins case, that under the Constitution, a state may not require that contract convict goods must be, when shipped into it, so labeled as to warn the purchaser that they were made in prisons.

In the Wisconsin State Reformatory, at Green Bay, 85 to 90 boys are employed in making overalls and "brownies." Surely mothers who ignorantly buy these goods ought to have an enforcible legal claim to know what they are getting. But until the Booher bill becomes a law, the New York decision in the Hawkins case will effectively bar the way to such knowledge.

In the Michigan state prison at Jackson, a cannery has recently been opened, and there is nothing to prevent other prisons from following this example. These goods are sold extensively in Indiana and Wisconsin under labels disguising their origin. Indeed, the prison-made garments and foods distributed throughout the country, without distinguishing labels or with misleading ones, constitute a distinct peril to the health of consumers.

Nor can a state protect free labor within its borders from the competition of prisoners working unpaid in the service of contractors; and this in branches of manufacture in which the prisoners are often unable, after their release, to maintain themselves. Manufacturers who use the label of the Consumers' League have frequently complained that this utterly anti-social competition makes it impossible for them to pay generous wages to their employes. Some 7,500 prisoners are employed in Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin in making shirts, overalls, hosiery, brooms, buttons, brushes, shoes, etc. For the work of the boy "brownie" makers and overall workers in the State Reformatory at Green Bay, Wisconsin receives a nominal return of about $.70 a day. In practice this amounts to about $.50—and if a fair charge should be made for rent, heat, water, power, light, etc., the net return might fairly be stated at $.30.

These are all conspicuously women's industries. The average labor price in all these prisons is about $.55 a day. The Wisconsin State Board of Control estimates the value of overhead items—rent, heat, light, power, etc.—at about $.20 to $.25 a day. The average net price of convict labor in these industries is, therefore, about $.30 a day or $1.80 a week.

Wage-earning women in these occupations must obviously face this cut-throat competition. Not merely do the 7,500 prisoners displace free self-supporting women outright, their labor, concentrated within a limited range of production, profoundly depresses the wage of practically all the women employed in these branches. Manufacturers testify at public hearings before legislative and Congressional committees that the prison price rules the market price, that they cannot sell their products until the prison goods have been disposed of; that in times of depression they are forced to give the right of way to the prison factory and slacken their own output or shut down entirely. This pressure was especially in evidence in the summer of 1914.

Convict contract labor is due chiefly to the inability of wage-earning women to defend their own interests on the political field. In the hundred years' struggle between free labor and convict labor in men's industries, men, as they improved their economic and political status, exerted upon legislatures pressure which slowly eliminated prison competition from their field. Such industries as stone cutting, foundry work, etc., are today practically eliminated from contract prisons. (In the prisons conducted under the state use system, the inmates are naturally employed at work required by the state, but their products do not come into competition with the products of free labor *in the open market.*)

In the place of industries normally employing men there have come the needle trades which, in the outside world, are practically all women's industries. Wage-earning men have thus, through their political power, shifted the burden of prison competition upon the women workers.

Convict contract labor gives rise to other evils. It tends to compel prisoners to return to crime as soon as they are released, for if the prison has taught them women's trades, they find all factory doors closed. It is unjust to the prison administration, for the prisoners know that they are learning no useful trade and resent the enforced labor. Wardens testify that they have far more trouble in shops where the inmates are employed at needle trades than in other shops. Only when convict contract labor is utterly banished from an institution is any effective effort made to keep prisoners employed in the greatest possible variety of ways, as Dr. Katherine

Davis has always done at Bedford Reformatory, to substitute for the sake of physical health, in the place of monotonous, indoor manufacture, agriculture, horticulture, roadmaking, cement work and every available outdoor occupation. Yet it is thus alone that prisoners can be helped in body, mind, character and ability for self support.

Since the National Consumers' League began its agitation for this legislation, the Booher bill has twice passed the House—unanimously in 1912, and by a vote of 302 to 3 in 1914. On August 25, 1914, the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce reported it favorably, and it is now on the Senate calendar. It has been amended to exclude paroled convicts and eleemosynary institutions for minors, and to take effect in 1916. There is no hope of its passage in 1914, but it should pass at the short session. Under the chairmanship of Julian Leavitt, the Committee on Prison Contract Labor of the National Consumers' League will agitate for the Booher bill until its efforts are crowned with success.

Safety at Sea

We who are the great nation of travelers might reasonably be expected to care for safety at sea. Such is, however, not our record. In advocacy of Senator La Follette's bill intended to make sea travel safer for both passengers and seamen, no passenger has ever appeared before any Congressional committee save only the writer of this article.

This bill passed the Senate in March, 1914, and was held in the House Committee on Mercantile Marine and Fisheries until August, when a substitute bill passed the House and was sent to a committee in the Senate where it now rests. Until the Consumers' League, at its annual meeting in November, 1913, endorsed the La Follette bill, the struggle for safety at sea had been left, for full twenty years since its beginning, to the seamen. Even the loss of the *Titanic* caused only a ripple of interest in social legislation of this character. Following that monstrous destruction of human life, Congress contented itself with requiring continuous wireless service with two certificated wireless operators on board ships leaving our harbors. There is unceasing influential effort to relax even this slender im-

provement; and this nation will be fortunate beyond its deserts if, at the close of the present Congress, our statutes do not assure us less safety at sea rather than more.

There is a certain grim irony in a joint effort for safety legislation carried forward by seamen who, by reason of their calling, cannot impress their wishes effectively upon their senators and representatives, and by women who have no votes!

The writer having, throughout a quarter century, striven, not altogether fruitlessly, to promote social legislation feels increasingly with each passing year that the position of a voteless woman thus occupied is discouraging and a little ridiculous. She, therefore, especially welcomes the publication of the present issue, being convinced that the readers of *The Annals* can, if they will, obtain the passage by the present Congress of the Bristow-Mondell resolution. After that the relation of women to social legislation will enter upon a new and immeasurably more hopeful era.

WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES

By Neva R. Deardorff, Ph.D.,
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Someone has described the evolutionary progress of humanity as the migration of a great unorganized horde, sometimes wandering this way, sometimes that, but always keeping in a general forward direction. From the mass appear a few individuals, who, by reason of their ability to see ahead, assume the guidance of and give a certain bent to the migration. But women have seldom enjoyed the exercise of such leadership. It is true, in times of confusion, a woman here or there has found herself in the front ranks, as did Joan d'Arc or Queen Elizabeth, but however well she acquitted herself, her achievements failed to open the way for women. She was an accident and regarded as such.

Woman's place in the crowd of a generation ago was immediately back of her masculine kinsfolk. Here she enjoyed protection from the rough elbowing of the crowd, though in return for this shelter she forfeited her liberty and was expected to devote all of her physical strength and mental energy to pushing some particular masculine protector to the front. Sometimes her efforts were appreciated, frequently they were taken for granted, since etiquette favored a covert manner of pushing. But the rules of the game have changed. Partners and co-laborers are taking the places of lords and masters. Farmers, professors, clergymen, politicians, in fact, husbands of every calling are coming to see the advantage of having a wife beside, instead of behind, them. They now take pride in the wife who enjoys an outlook on the world which enables her to help far more intelligently and effectively than did the wife of a generation ago.

It is a very similar change that has taken place in the work of women out of the home. As long as they were the hard-working secretaries or deputies of public officials, the phenomenon of women in public life was scarcely noticed. Now that they are emerging from obscurity and are becoming visible in the front ranks, their appearance is hailed as a radical change in the order of things. Such an assumption is, of course, absurd. It is a very short, though con-

spicuous step, that women lately have taken. If women, as a class, had ever been the helpless, shallow creatures they were supposed to have been, they could never now assume their new responsibilities so completely, and take their places as executives and leaders so easily. Nor can there be much pessimism regarding their success in the work which they have been doing for a comparatively long time, but in doing which they have only lately come under observation. Women are now doing openly and frankly what they formerly did stealthily and in secret. And men, who a few years ago would have hesitated to acknowledge the intellectual equality of the sexes, are now inviting this open coöperation.

It is to accomplish certain results in municipal endeavor that has most generally brought women out of their obscurity and forced them to act in organization. While the family may be the basic institution of society, the community environment to a very great extent determines its success or failure. Women have followed where reason led, and have seen that the municipal organization had to do with things it was essential should be well done if their efforts as mothers were not to be negatived. The water pumped to their houses, the street, the alley, the school, the hospital, the street car, the park, are all powerful aids to the development of a healthy and enlightened family life, if they are well managed; but they are also agencies for evil, if poorly managed. Typhoid water, dirty and dark streets, unguarded crossings, ill-ventilated and poorly lighted schools, mismanaged hospitals, street cars unequipped with safety devices, unpoliced parks, are all capable of destroying the product of years of patient effort on the part of mothers. In the humanitarian activities of the community, the almshouses, foundling asylums, and institutions for custodial care, women have seen that functions traditionally theirs were not invariably performed to their satisfaction by their male successors. Reason and sympathy have combined to force women to assert themselves. That the justice as well as expediency of their demands has been obvious is shown by the comparative ease with which they have acquired the municipal franchise in so many places.

Outside the use of the ballot, women have made effective their demands in two ways—one in organized groups of citizens watching the office-holder, and letting him know that he is being watched, offering suggestions, and endorsing the official who succeeded; the

other as office-holders, actually doing the job from the woman's point of view.

In the first of the ways women have adopted, they have been very successful. Using an instrument, the woman's club, formerly devoted to concerns less practical and vital, remaining to a large extent non-partisan, demanding of all office-holders efficient administration, they have become powerful moulders of public opinion regarding the questions in which they have interested themselves. Through the woman's club, they have studied their problems with a seriousness and application that could not fail to bring results, and through the power that organization creates, they have forced recognition of their views. Publicity campaigns have been carried on with vigor and resourcefulness. When women have once become convinced that something vital to their homes is at stake, it is a waste of breath to talk about political expediency.

Of late the clubs have broadened their interests to include municipal activities, less obviously though no less really connected with the home than those enumerated above. They are studying tax assessments, city planning, charter revision, in fact everything that their municipal government is going or proposes to do. As a result of this study, they are demanding, where it seems necessary, a logical expansion of municipal endeavor. If schools are seen to be avenues of contagion, adequate school medical inspection is demanded by the clubs. If the city has municipal markets, the clubs are demanding efficient supervision over the foodstuffs offered for sale. If the city supervises the milk supply, the clubs are ready to pass an intelligent judgment upon what is being done; and when in all of these matters the city fathers evade issues by talking learnedly of finance, the clubs, armed with information, are ready to bring them back to the point. After such education and experience as this, women cannot go back to the old individualistic conceptions, even if they would; what was once an experiment is now a duty.

The salutary effect which the clubs have had through their non-partisan scrutiny of public officials has been so great that this phase of their activity is being rapidly developed. The California Civic League, the Civic Club and the Woman's League for Good Government in Philadelphia, Chicago's Committee of a Hundred, are typical of this departure. It was the absence of such interest and coöperation on the part of citizens a few years ago that allowed our American municipalities to fall into such evil ways.

In the second of the methods—namely, office-holding—by which women are making effective their demand for government that will conserve their interests, the avenues of approach have been opened in several ways. Foremost among these has been the merit system or civil service for appointment to municipal positions. As long as appointments to offices can be made from purely political motives, women in the male-suffrage states are practically excluded. Where offices mean votes, indirect influence is usually at a discount. When, however, it is no longer a question of "taking care of the boys" or of accommodating a ward leader, and officers are chosen because they can demonstrate their fitness, it becomes inevitable that women will qualify and secure appointments, though it sometimes requires a little time for a thorough-going application of the new principle. The situation in Philadelphia is fairly typical of the United States generally. In regard to it, Mr. Lewis H. Van Dusen of Philadelphia reports:

> When the civil service commission, of which I am a member, came into office in December, 1911, and for sometime thereafter, it was the custom to admit to the examinations only men, unless it was specifically provided in any special case that women might enter. Under that plan women, of course, were permitted to participate in examinations for stenographers, clerks, nurses, and other similar positions, but early in the year 1913 our commission completely reversed this procedure and ordered that all examinations for all positions whatsoever be open to men and women alike unless specifically otherwise provided, and we have continued up to date admitting women to all examinations regardless of whether there was a likelihood for their appointment or not. . . . . In other words, since the early part of 1913 men and women have competed in all cases upon exactly the same basis in our examinations.

That this means more than a merely theoretical equality is abundantly proven when Mr. Van Dusen still further reports that in the "last examination for the highest grade general clerical positions, salary $1,250 to $1,600 per year, the proportion of women who competed successfully was considerably greater than the proportion of men who competed successfully." Efficiency is in too great demand for such a condition as this not to lead to the logical results.

The debt women owe civil service is not confined to its having opened the doors of opportunity to them. Because of its exercise of selection among women on the basis of experience and capacity, it has assured their success in the critical beginning period. It is

very doubtful whether women would have made the progress which they have made had the advance guard been chosen in a hit or miss fashion.

Coördinate with the opportunities through civil service have come the demands for women's services to perform the new functions which city, state and federal government have undertaken. With the change from the old ideal of as little government as possible to the new ideal of government as an active, positive agency of community welfare, the services of many kinds of people are being required. And among these new workers are women. Although there are many things that women cannot do, there are many that they can do equally as well as men, and there are a few which only they can do. And while it is true that it is largely as a result of the demands of the women citizens that much of this social service has been assumed, once assumed, it is practically impossible to carry it on without women. One can scarcely imagine, for instance, a court of domestic relations, a bureau of child hygiene, a hospital social service department, a recreation centre, a juvenile court, being run without women. And we are rapidly coming to see that a police system without women is bound to fall short of what we expect of that branch of the public service. Twenty-three cities have policewomen, Chicago leading the list with twenty. In Portland, Oregon, Tacoma, Washington, and Oakland, California, there are departments of public safety for women and children.

It is not only in the field work that municipal social service has given women a chance. It has been an effective entering wedge for securing recognition for them on municipal commissions and boards of trustees which supervise these activities. This reaction seems to be general throughout the greater part of the United States. In Boston, women have generous representation among the trustees of the city's public educational, charitable and reformatory institutions, though in the city's many other activities, but one woman has been thus recognized. The appointment of Dr. Katharine B. Davis as commissioner of correction for New York City is characteristic of this new welfare movement. It is expected that her department will be transformed so far as is possible from an organization for meting out punishment to one worthy of its name.

There are other kinds of municipal service, not exclusively women's work, for which, however, they are well adapted. Typical

of these are inspectorships of streets, markets, garbage collection and similar activities. As a garbage inspector in Chicago, Jane Addams showed what efficiency and conscientiousness could accomplish when she secured the removal of eighteen inches of filth and refuse from a paved street, even though her achievement did not astonish the Italian neighbors, who, as she points out, were accustomed to seeing buried cities exhumed. At present, the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane is leading the van of women food experts; Miss Mildred Chadsey of Cleveland, Ohio, has set the furthest point of advancement for women sanitarians; Prof. Emily G. Balch has won a position of leadership in city planning in Boston.

Of the new fields which are opening up for women none is more interesting nor offers work more fundamental to a successful civic development than the position as tax assessor. Taxes touch people in such a vulnerable spot, and a just and efficient system of assessment is so essential to public welfare, that if women succeed as tax assessors, they will have met and solved one of the most delicate problems in government. They are now being tried in Spokane, Los Angeles and Chicago. The chances of their success are considerably enhanced by the experience in judging the value of goods which women have acquired in the household.

And finally, the franchise itself has flung wide the doors of public office to women. Where women vote, they hold offices quite regardless of whether the work to be performed is "womanly" or not. In cities and in villages, in the woman-suffrage communities, they have been elected to every kind of municipal position, even including the mayoralty itself. When, in 1913, Denver adopted a commission form of government, it had in office a woman recorder, Lucy I. Harrington, who was retained to perform the same work, though the title of her position has been changed. Denver also has a woman, Ellis Meredith Clement, president of its elections commission, which has complete control over all elections held in the city and county of Denver. Kansas City has a woman, Laura A. Jost, city treasurer. San Diego, California, has a woman, Miriam E. Rains, city recorder. Chicago has a woman, Anna E. Nichols, secretary of the civil service commission. Out of the seventy-two members of the commissions which have administrative direction of the city departments of Los Angeles, nineteen are women. That these are not confined to the purely social service activities is proven in the case of Mrs. D. C.

McCan who is vice-president of the civil service commission and a member of the efficiency commission.

Running parallel with the municipal activities of women have been similar developments in state and nation. Here, as in the cities, women have exerted powerful influence in securing legislative provision for the enterprises in which they are interested. They have taken positions in state and federal government very similar to those taken by women in municipal activities. If the progress of humanity in general has been that of an unorganized horde, such a condition does not characterize the progress of women within the last two decades. Organized, alert, and trained, they are far more nearly described as being that of a drilled army, if one may use a military metaphor to describe a group of people traditionally the enemies of war.

CIVIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

By Mary I. Wood,

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FOREWORD

By Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker,

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Since *The Annals* is prophetic as well as historic, I desire my foreword to Mrs. Wood's stimulating account of "The Civic Activities of Women's Clubs" to forecast what I hope may be a leading feature of our work during the next two years.

As a country we are almost united upon the fact that the great question facing us is the betterment of rural life. The city problems may seem important, but they are in reality only a drop in the great ocean as compared with the problems that affect the millions of our people who dwell in rural communities. Someone has well said that reforms in a city are mere makeshifts, but that if we reach the masses in the country, we have gone above the rapids, and prevented the terrible destruction that comes from the cataract.

It is not enough for our rural people to *produce* more in the fruits of the field, they must have opportunity to *live* more. Especially is this true of the boys and girls, the young men and the young women; their lives must be fuller and richer or the country cannot hold them when the city beckons.

We have had shown at our various fairs and expositions the model community that should exist near every rural school. There is the church with the minister's house hard by, the store, the doctor's home and office, and the school building which is to be used as a social center. Now if this school is to be a success, if this school is to be a real center of the best social life in the community, it must be presided over by a teacher who has at least some degree of permanency. Nothing will sooner give this permanency than a comfortable house, with a plot of ground, where the teacher can have a settled feeling. Even if an unmarried woman she can generally form a home for herself and the visiting nurse, which nurse the community needs solely. Not ten per cent of our people realize the sacrifices made and the difficulties endured by the country school teacher. If we could see the physical discomforts, the poor food, the lack of privacy, the ill-ventilated bedroom, the long walk, the absence of janitor service; in fact, oftentimes, the lack of everything to make life sweeter, easier and healthier, we would wonder that any group of men and women could be found to endure such privations in return for the pittances doled out to them in the way of salaries. The day will come when a poet will rise to sing the virtues and unselfish service of the country teacher.

If the million women in the General Federation would concentrate for the next two years in an effort to bring about a model settlement and especially to establish teachers' homes—school manses—in connection with at least one school building in each county, they would be serving the entire nation.

About four years ago a certain man, high up in America's civic councils, in speaking of the woman's club movement, remarked, "It is one of the greatest, if not indeed the greatest, of the civic forces of modern times," and today that statement would be challenged only by one who either, being blind, has not seen the nation-wide civic awakening or, being obtuse, has refused to attribute this awakening to its proper sources.

The club movement was begun nearly fifty years ago as a cultural movement and, as such, was criticized, ridiculed or encouraged according to the state of mind or powers of observation of the critic. It soon became evident, even to the most ardent advocate of the cultural movement, that the service which the club women were to render to humanity was not wholly of a cultural character. Very early the club women became unwilling to discuss Dante and Browning over the teacups, at a meeting of their peers in some lady's drawing room, while unsightly heaps of rubbish flanked the paths over which they had passed in their journeys thither. They began to realize that the one calling in which they were, as a body, proficient, that of housekeeping and homemaking, had its outdoor as well as its indoor application. They soon learned that art, in its best and highest sense, was a thing, not of galleries and museums alone, but that it was a thing of practical, every day life and that, wherever there were cleanliness and symmetry and beauty, there was art in its best and highest sense. They learned that well kept lawns were but the outer setting of well kept houses, and that back yards and back alleys had their places in the great science of home making; they learned that tenement house and factory conditions were but phases of the daily lives of other women; and that juvenile courts and playgrounds and eleemosynary institutions were determining factors in the character of many another woman's child.

It was this knowledge, the extension of the home making instinct of women and the broadening out of the mother instinct of women, that led them out into paths of civic usefulness.

In the meantime, while individuals and individual clubs were learning their duty to their community life, the General Federation

of Women's Clubs was growing to great dimensions until, today, a rough although not exaggerated estimate of the membership, direct, indirect and allied, places the number of women in that organization well beyond a million and a half. A million and a half of women in America, turning their attention toward the betterment of existing conditions, can scarcely be disregarded, the mere fact of numbers alone forcing us to recognize this force as one of the greatest factors in the entire network of civic advancement of America. But this is not a question of members alone: it is a question of determined action and great actual results. There is no loud-sounding slogan; no great creed of many words. It is simply an unchartered but highly contagious epidemic of civic righteousness which has laid hold of the women of America, these wives and mothers who are coming to interpret their duty to their own families in a language which shall be known and read by all mankind. If the club women of America have a slogan, it is "Service;" this one word is at once their slogan, their creed, and their ultimate goal.

No single address or magazine article can do justice to the civic activities of the club women; it is a story in which each community has its chapter, for these activities reach from the lecture course of the small club in the rural community to the many-sided work of the great departmental club whose work is interwoven into every good deed which the great city knows.

Thousands of towns, cities and hamlets can bear testimony to the work of these organized women: there are more sanitary and better ventilated schoolhouses; there are more numerous parks and more cleanly streets; there are district nurses who visit the sick poor in their homes and give instruction in the simple rules of wholesome living; there are sanitary drinking fountains for man and beast; there are vacation schools and playgrounds; there are juvenile courts and equal guardianship laws; there are cleaner markets; there are many free public libraries and thousands of traveling libraries; there is a lessening of objectionable bill-board ornamentation; there is a determined campaign, nation-wide, against the housefly; there is a more intelligent knowledge of the prevention and care of tuberculosis; in short, there is scarcely any movement for the betterment of living conditions or for the social and moral uplift of the American people that has not received a helping hand from the club woman. It is not fair to note examples,

for each single instance might be duplicated a thousand times; nevertheless a few examples may serve to bring these activities in a concrete form before the reader.

In a little town in Iowa the women, who came in occasionally from the farms to do a little shopping, had no place other than the store counter or street corner where they might wait while horses were shod, corn ground, and politics discussed, determined to improve conditions. They organized with committees on: streets and alleys, main street and railroad stations, public health, municipal business, membership and entertainment. One hundred and seven women in that little town joined the club during its initial month. They decided first upon an annual clean-up day: they were housekeepers, all of them, and cleaning house was an annual necessity to their code of morality and life. The committees got to work and streets were weeded; alleys were cleaned up; bonfires put sweepings and papers beyond danger of return; the depot, the loafing corners and the public places were cleared of tobacco juice and other offensive signs of the thoughtless, careless citizen; yards were raked; cans, garbage and brush carted beyond the town limits; ordinances were passed prohibiting offensive practices, and posters were put in all public places; two cement troughs furnished to thirsty and tired animals water where none had been before; the river banks were cleared of brush and sign boards; and finally a four-room cottage was purchased, moved to a central lot, mounted on a cement foundation, ornamented with a cement porch, painted and papered free of charge by the willing hands of the women themselves, furnished by donations of every kind known to the comfortable home, from tea towels to rocking chairs, and the little house became a social center for all kinds of meetings; lectures, private parties, rest rooms—even the city council holds its meetings now in the woman's building. Finally came the library, beginning with one hundred volumes; and this civic club, having been in existence but six years, has well nigh revolutionized one small town and is itself free from debt. Multiply this town by many thousands of other similar examples and think of the civic value of the club movement.

A mere account of accomplishments cannot bring out the value of such endeavor in growth of public pride, in development of a community spirit, and in power of example to the youth. Nor does the woman's club work by itself: the gradual raising of public opinion

which accompanies the civic activities of the club women everywhere may well be termed its greatest asset. Activities, which attract the interest of the mother of a family, with a full consideration of the conditions which aroused them and the results expected, form the topics of daily conversation in the family. Father, mother and children become enthusiastic over the subject and interest spreads to neighbors, friends, men's clubs and street corners until that which was begun timidly and with serious apprehension at a club meeting ends in a community interest sufficient to revolutionize public opinion and to bring about real reform. Nor are these activities confined to one state: every state in the Union feels and knows and is benefited by the club and federation interest in civic affairs. Each state has its civic club or its civic department of the cultural club and an awakening civic consciousness is everywhere state-wide because of these clubs. A few examples, taken at random from different states, may serve to show the varied and useful directions in which the woman's club is working for civic betterment. Nor will these examples be unusual ones or even the best in many instances: the selection is as fair as can be made showing simply the natural trend of the club movement in all things useful and beneficial to the community.

In the state of Kentucky there is a civic league of women, fifty in number, in an active little town of about four thousand people. This league has recently taken an unsightly corner lot, adjacent to the town water supply, and made of it a lovely little park. They have taken also an active interest in the public schools and, by securing the registration of women for the school election, were instrumental in materially improving the personnel of the school board. They have made great progress in inducing the grocers to remove the foodstuffs from the sidewalks; they have inspected and censored two motion picture theatres; they have inaugurated an annual clean-up day, organized two patrols of boy scouts and installed a traveling library.

In Lexington in this same state there exists the finest example America possesses of a neighborhood school, a school and community house and social center combined. This school owes its existence almost entirely to the activities of women.

A Connecticut club during the past year laid over two thousand feet of sidewalk, beautified the grounds about the railroad station,

gave prizes for interior and exterior improvement of schoolhouses, and for excellence in school garden contests.

One southern club set out in a single year a beautiful avenue of five hundred catalpa trees; another cared for the hitherto neglected cemetery, righting up headstones, mowing vacant lots, building fences and erecting a handsome gateway and planting more than a hundred shade trees; another maintains a branch of the public library in the poorer district of the town, furnishing all books and paying for the services of a librarian and for all incidental expenses.

The last named club maintains also a reading-room in one of the fire stations and keeps in circulation in the schools and smaller towns of the county several traveling libraries. It has given prizes to the girls of the local schools; has been instrumental in bringing about a saner celebration of the Fourth of July, Hallowe'en and Christmas; has assisted the local men's club in bringing to the town a seven days' Chautauqua, and has aided the mayor and a local fraternal organization in filling the empty Christmas stockings of several hundred little children.

In New Mexico there is a club of about thirty-five members which has succeeded in raising the money to build and equip, without the aid of any great philanthropist, a ten thousand dollar library which has a collection of about four thousand volumes, maintains a children's room with story-telling hours for the little children. It also has charge of the public plaza and cemetery and has transformed the latter place from a desolate and forsaken spot to a place of beauty with trees, flowers, grasses and neatly kept walks and drives.

A club in Oregon has obtained a forty-acre park site and preserved the old Fort Dalles blockhouse, used during the Indian wars. In South Dakota we find a club in Ft. Pierre which has erected a public drinking fountain at a cost of several hundred dollars. In Arizona we find manual training in the public schools of one city due solely to the efforts of a club of women who raised the necessary funds and secured the necessary legislation. Colorado boasts of a club of women who appealed in vain to the city council but, not deterred by this refusal on the part of the city fathers, took their own school-boy sons on Saturday and cleaned up the town themselves. Illinois, even outside of her large towns, could tell some wonderful stories of accomplishment, not the least of which

is the circulation of plans, drawn by experts, which have been loaned not only in the state but to the reading public of the country, in order that back yards may be made beautiful by inexpensive but careful planting. Who does not know of the work of the New Orleans club women in behalf of a better sewerage and drainage system; or of the effort of the women in Maryland to convince the Baltimore merchants that smoke is an evidence of wastefulness rather than thrift, and who taught them "to burn their smoke rather than their money?" The teaching of thrift to the children of the public schools in Massachusetts belongs to the credit of the club women: it was reported that during a single year forty clubs reported the saving of over $300,000 by the school children of that state. If, instead of hundreds of towns where civic work has been accomplished by club women, Missouri had but the one example of Kirksville, the club movement would have made a most valuable contribution to civic work in that state. There is scarcely a corner in that city that does not bear testimony by its cleanliness or beauty to the work of the club women.

From several states came reports of bathhouses, built and maintained by club women; of schoolhouses opened as social centers; of incinerators installed and a new system of garbage and waste collection; of municipal abattoirs and better state inspection; of cleaner bakeries; of better milk and water supplies; of women police officers on duty; of free medical dispensaries and clinics; of rest rooms by the hundreds. When we ask the reason for these things, the answer is unanimously, "The woman's club did it."

Perhaps the civic undertaking which will, when completed, attract to itself more comment than any other is the beautifying of the proposed Lincoln Highway which will stretch across our great country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In her report of the Lincoln Way Tree Committee of the General Federation, made to the Chicago Convention the chairman says:

> The Lincoln Way Tree Committee is already working on a comprehensive planting plan for the entire distance from ocean to ocean with the purpose of having each state adopt a style of gardening of its own as different as possible from every other state. The coöperation of governors, and mayors of towns through which the highway passes, of landscape gardeners and horticulturists in state universities, of state and city foresters, has already been asked and in many cases promised.

In the work of planting the Lincoln Way we may weave garlands of sentiment, but a well-planted highway across our continent is a very practical undertaking which interests and benefits all of our people socially, educationally and economically.

It offers a new medium of travel which will necessarily make for prosperity, inspire love of country and a patriotic desire to see America first; while at the same time it will prove an irresistible invitation to travelers from foreign lands.

In addition to the Lincoln Way, we are undertaking to plant thousands of miles of main roads which will connect with the Lincoln Way. One of these starting from Chattanooga will pass Lincoln's birthplace, and, dividing in Kentucky, one branch will pass McKinley's home, while the other courses northward to join the Lincoln Highway in Indiana.

All clubs are asked to coöperate with the school teachers to secure the participation of school children in this work for better roads and a more beautiful America.

Summing up the civic activities of American club women, Miss Zona Gale, recent chairman of the Department of Civics in the General Federation, says:

The actual status of civic work being done by the federated clubs of the United States is sketched in the accompanying outline, furnished by the civic chairman of the various states.

It will be seen that the growth in civic work among clubs consists:

1. In the introduction of civic departments in department clubs.
2. In the study of civic and social conditions by study clubs.
3. In the organization of workers for actual civic advance.

And of the three, the second and third greatly predominate.

It is also observable that in the third activity, the work proceeds along the same lines. The initial steps usually include "clean-up" days, the buying of trash baskets, prizes for back-yard improvement, the attacking of billboards; all admirable. Next comes constructive work in beautifying; the planting of small open squares, the hope of a little park, the placing of seats in sightly places. This leads naturally to work for sanitation, the clearing of alleys, garbage collection, fly campaigns, bubble fountains, abolishing the exposure of food on sidewalks, of street-sweeping during traffic hours and without the use of the hose, medical inspection of school children, the tuberculin testing of cattle, the anti-tuberculosis work in various forms. Then inevitably comes the still more human element, the element constructive as well as preventive: playgrounds, domestic science and manual training, a gymnasium for the schools, the development of recreational facilities, attention to motion pictures, investigation of the treatment of juvenile offenders, the condition of local gaols and lock-ups, of child labor, of factory and shop conditions in general—hours, sanitation, wages, and so, gradually to the whole underlying industrial situation, and to the economic conditions which have begotten it.

Most of the civic clubs are working in the earlier stages. Indeed, when they get to the later stages, they are likely to dissolve and to enter the field from another direction. But no civic club can wish for its members anything better than so to educate them that they will pass from the initial stages of civic effort on to the direct work from whose growing area the call for workers sounds so clear.

Meanwhile, from these reports, and from the answers to the questions which accompanied the requests for them, and above all from the hundreds of letters which have passed through the department in those two years, one fact seems to me to stand out most clearly:

That if our actual organization is to keep pace with our dream, then we must realize that no dream can continue indefinitely on volunteer work alone.

The truth is that the civic department has now outlived its period of amateur effort, and that the work has grown too large for the hands of the volunteers who are attempting to carry it. If we are to get, not our maximum, but even a fair proportion of efficiency from the splendid unselfish desire now awake and alive in club women who are civic workers, then we must introduce into our work that to which every volunteer work must grow: The coöperation of trained and paid organizers.

To illustrate: In Wisconsin, there have been sometimes a dozen requests to the State Civic Committee for the chairman to go to towns to organize for civic study and civic work. No woman, unless she give her whole time to the work, can carry on activity such as this. Not only so, but there is an enormous borderland of towns not yet at the point of asking for help, to which somebody should go to initiate civic work, and create the demand for further coöperation from outside. And this should be done systematically, county by county in each state, until not a single community is left in any state whose members have not had a direct chance to come into the great new current of social consciousness which is pouring round the world.

Concretely: The recommendation of the chairman of this department would be for the appointment, by the General Federation Board, of a paid civic organizer, whose duty shall be to go from state to state, where the need is shown by these and later reports to be the greatest, and to coöperate with the civic chairman of these states in the organization into civic clubs and civic departments of the many whose civic sense is awake, but who need direction as to how to function. Best of all, such an organizer would organize not only clubs but whole communities into self-conscious bodies, meeting for the transaction of their own social business.

There is the most urgent and immediate need for this sort of work; for someone who understands the immense educational value of such work as she can direct the clubs and communities to undertake; both in program planning and in the adoption of definite activities—someone who sees what the social awakening means. Never was the need of an endowment fund better exemplified than in the sharp need for the immediate appointment by the board of such an office, and in the certainty that, unless this is done, precious time and willing impulse are going to be irreparably lost to us.

Eventually, every state must have such a paid organizer, a civic secretary, if you like, supported by the state. Eventually, every town must have, supported by the town, such a paid civic worker, a municipal secretary, if you like, a director of the great uncoördinated civic impulse stirring alive in town, large and small, and at last understanding that a civic secretary, a secretary of social work and recreational life, is just as vital as an inspector of weights and measures, of buildings, of sidewalks themselves.

Such are the dreams; such are the aspirations; and such are the accomplishments of the women's clubs of America in regard to civic betterment.

WOMEN IN THE JUVENILE COURT

By Emily Foote Runge,

Assistant Probation Officer, St. Louis Juvenile Court, St. Louis, Mo.

A woman came into the court the other day to get information about our work and about what she must do to get a position in the probation office. While talking to her, she expressed surprise that we had any *men* officers, saying she had always supposed the juvenile court was made up of *all women* except possibly the judge who, she knew, was usually of the male persuasion. This was the first time it had ever occurred to me that anyone could have imagined the work as being done entirely by women, because when I first went into the work in St. Louis, I found a man probation officer had been visiting some of the girls, that he made investigations in cases where the delinquent girl was involved; and then I heard that it was not uncommon in juvenile courts for men officers to be sent to the homes of these delinquent girls to get information and reports. It seemed on the very face of it as if this procedure would have been considered unwise, but so do people look on such things at one time, when a few years later they would not countenance them.

There are two capacities in which women serve in our juvenile court: that of probation officer looking after delinquent girls and supervising neglected children, and of hearing the reports of and visiting the delinquent boy up to the age of fourteen, and that of judge or referee in the cases of delinquent girls. We make this age limit because we think that the boy up to the time he leaves school is better off in the hands of a woman, though this rule is not arbitrary, and some of our men officers take charge of small boys; but, with very few exceptions, we believe women should not take, as probationers, boys over fourteen, this age being better understood by the men, the problems of this age whether physical, mental or economic, being better handled by men and the men appealing more than women to boys over that age; although even here the rule is not cast-iron. There may be cases in which the big boy having a pretty good sort of a father but no mother, or worse than none, may profit by having the friendship of a strong fine woman

who can give him the kind of attention he has missed in his own home. Then, on the other hand, there are cases of boys under fourteen where there may be no father but a good mother, and here again the rule need not be followed, and we will assume that this boy may do better through having a man for his probation officer, in order to supply that temperament and point of view which he does not get in his own home, and the lack of which shows in his make-up.

These questions should allow of much latitude, should be treated with as much individuality as possible, and the individual probation officer be so carefully chosen that these matters could be safely left to her discretion and judgment, so that she would be able to see when a child would be better off under some other officer than herself, and make the transfer because of specific reasons. These transfers may be made to advantage from a woman to a man officer and vice versa, or from officer to officer according to temperament and intuition.

I recall one boy of school age with whom I labored to get acquainted. Every time he came to report or I went to his home, I had to begin all over again—there seemed to be a barrier between our natures. I turned him over to a man officer who shortly got his confidence and was able to help him.

In another instance a man officer turned over to me a boy he had worked with for several months saying that he had accomplished nothing, that the boy did not seem to respond to him and did not like him. I got at him easily and he made progress. Temperament tells here, just as surely as it does in the family or out in the world, some people "take to" others, some they cannot "get at," not for lack of trying, not for lack of interest, but because of something we do not ourselves understand.

When it comes to the care of the *girls* in the juvenile court, there can be but one opinion: that men should *never* take care of court girls.

The first day I went into juvenile court work, less than a decade ago, my first duty was to take a delinquent girl over to the city dispensary for physical examination. As she and I entered the waiting room, a young doctor called out: "Hello, there! juvenile court girl, eh? Well, what's the matter with you? Been naughty, eh?" Within three weeks after this experience, when I had gone back raging to the office and declared I would never again take a girl over there, I had arranged for such examinations to be made at

the house of detention by a woman physician, who on hearing my story offered her services gratis, and, moreover, instead of wholesale examinations, the girls were thenceforth subjected to them only when we decided they were absolutely necessary. There was criticism of this reform, there will always be criticism of such reforms and sneers at the sentimentality of them, but the women doctors know what it means and we of long experience with the girls know the difference, and the girls themselves are keenly alive to the situation, realizing, perhaps for the first time, why we have taken such a stand, but thoroughly understanding and appreciating it.

Some of these girls are overwise with regard to sex matters but in most cases their over-wisdom is due to inexact knowledge which has been derived from other girls, or from the gossip of their elders, many of whom do not, themselves, know the truth about these questions, so that there is a mystery, a vulgarity, a superstition enveloping the subject.

With these girls we must enter simply and plainly into the subject, telling them the truth, answering without hesitation all their questions, little by little drawing out their innate modesty, developing the spark of purity in them, and placing the question on a personal basis as regards themselves and someone they care for, or their brother and some girl he goes with.

All this is done only by close personal touch through visits to the girl, but, best of all, through her visits to me in the privacy of my own home. It isn't long before she forgets that her probation officer is an officer of the court, and, before she realizes it, she is talking with me in the most intimate way of matters which her mother has never broached, about which she has been curious and anxious to know, without a knowledge of which she is in danger all the time, and through ignorance of which she may have done something which was the occasion of her coming into the juvenile court and being placed on probation. In these quiet, private talks I discover how much she knows and how true her knowledge is, and then supplement it or correct any misconceptions, leading her along step by step according to her age and development.

An intelligent girl, aged 17, said to me—

I was a good girl up to 13. Then my elder sister (the mother had been dead several years) took me to a skating rink. She went on skating with a man and left me alone. A boy came up and asked me to skate; he was nice

and I liked him. When it came time to go home he asked to go with me. I looked at my sister, and she said, "Of course, that's all right." On the way home he told me I was sweet and pretty and that he liked me better than any other girl he knew. He came to see me a few nights later, took me to the rink another night, always flattering me the same way, I always believing him. In a week's time I thought it was awful nice to have a beau and I thought I loved him, so I was ready to do anything he told me to, and this was the way I began, not meaning to do wrong, and hardly realizing it was wrong until it was too late.

"Then," I asked her, "why did you continue to do wrong when you realized what you had done?" She looked quickly up at me with her nice blue eyes and hesitated a moment before she replied, "I suppose it was nature, for I couldn't help it after that." This has been my answer in many cases and I believe it is the answer in many more who are ashamed to tell me so.

Another girl, grown, married, said she had just turned twelve when she had her first experience, which also began by going with an older girl to a skating rink.

There were all sorts and kinds of boys and girls there, and the boys at the rinks are always those who never work, who are always on the bum. There were men and women there, too, and I now know that some of the women were from houses of prostitution, there for the purpose of leading girls astray, and the men with them were there to help them. The young men from 18 years up always take the young girls to skate because they can make them believe anything. They make love, offer presents, flatter, and make all sorts of promises if the girl will run away with them.

She blamed the boys, and said the girls were mostly like herself, ignorant, in for a good time with no intention of wrong doing, just led away by the pride and fun of having a beau, "A fellow who thinks we are it, and we believe every word he says. Then, when we once yield, we keep on because passion gets the best of us, and we don't know how to control ourselves; we've never been told things, nor how to keep good."

To speak plainly, after the first offense, there is the call of the wild, and these girls are too weak and too ignorant to resist.

From stories like these it is evident that men officers ought not to have dealings with these girls, that the men could not reach them in the right way, that there would be danger for the girl and temptation for the man.

The development, last winter in the St. Louis juvenile court, of having women act as referees to the judge in cases of delinquent girls, came about very naturally. Four girls, fourteen to sixteen years of age, who had been before the court and sent to an institution, ran away from it, got in with a girl they knew who was earning her living by having men come to her room, stayed with her, went through some horrible experiences in her room, were arrested and brought back to court. A new judge was on the bench that day. These girls came before him but he could get nothing from them. He took them to his chambers, but still they would not talk; so he turned them over to me to see what I could get. Soon the whole revolting truth came out, the girls even omitting details to me, being ashamed and disgusted with their experiences. "Nora," I asked, "Why didn't you tell the judge the truth? Didn't you see that he was kind and good and your friend?" "Oh, yes! He was so kind, but I couldn't have told a man what I have told you, for any amount of money."

Three days later, two women were hearing all cases of *delinquent girls*, besides doing their regular probation work—in order to try out the plan. It has worked well except that the referee has too much to do, and it only remains for an amendment to be made to the law to make it possible for a woman to sit legally on such cases, be paid for it and keep only a small number of probation cases.

The judge, who knew he was not getting the truth from those four girls and who felt instinctively that a man was not the one to question them about their sexual delinquencies, was right. Women will be more and more a force in the juvenile court as time goes on, but the powers that be must see to it that she be educated and refined, good and true; have mental balance as well as heart; be wide awake and intelligent, with broad sympathies and a broad outlook on life, for there is nothing we need so much in working with these girls and boys as a clear vision and a true perspective.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE—A PROBLEM OF POLITICAL JUSTICE

By Anna Howard Shaw,

President, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The franchise has been granted to women on equal terms with men in nine states of the United States and one territory, namely, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Kansas, Arizona, Oregon and Alaska. Everyone of the equal suffrage states is adjacent to one or more of the other suffrage states. Moreover, five of the states where equal suffrage amendments will be submitted to the voters in November border on one or more equal suffrage states. Surely no state would enfranchise its women, or would even seriously consider it, if equal suffrage had proved a failure just across the boundary line. Therefore, this geographical argument, as we suffragists call it, seems to us the very best one which can be urged as to the practical success of votes for women, proving, as it does, that the anti-suffrage bogies which make some impression in the East are merely ridiculous in the West where evil prophecies have given way before experience, and opinions are based on evidence, not on idle prejudice.

A similar practical demonstration of the results of equal suffrage has been made in Europe. For instance, in Norway tax-paying women were granted the municipal franchise in 1901, and the full franchise in 1907. In 1910 the municipal franchise was granted to all women, the full parliamentary franchise being extended to all women in 1913. If the Norwegian women had made a failure of their municipal suffrage, it is obvious that the parliamentary suffrage would not have been given them. If the tax-paying women had failed to demonstrate their patriotism and common sense, the non-tax-paying women would have failed to secure the franchise. The experience of Finland, whose women have had full suffrage since 1906, has been similar to that of Norway. Iceland, Denmark and Sweden are said to be on the verge of granting full suffrage to women after a reasonably long test of municipal suffrage. One after another the states of the Australian federation granted the full franchise to women, the last state being Victoria in 1908. There again each

state, except the first, had the advantage of knowing the results of the experiment in the neighboring states, and in New Zealand.

These facts, demonstrating satisfaction with equal suffrage wherever it has been tried, together with the mass of favorable evidence which has been presented to the public through the impartial columns of our newspapers and magazines, would seem to make it unnecessary to discuss votes for women from the standpoint of expediency, even if one believed that a fundamental principle should be affected by questions of expediency.

I personally am convinced that the enfranchisement of women should be considered from the standpoint of justice and logic alone.

Our demand is suffrage for women on the same terms as for men. Let us see just what this means. The men of this country have established and maintained what they call a democracy. The basic idea of a democracy is, they say, that it shall be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. So far, so good. But "people" has been translated to mean male citizens only. We ask, therefore, not that the established principle of government be changed but that it shall be held to apply to women citizens as well as to men citizens.

In general, every male citizen of the United States, native born or naturalized, is entitled to vote, if he is 21 years of age and has been for a certain length of time a resident of the state and county where he desires to cast his ballot. Idiots and criminals are generally disfranchised. In some states there is a slight educational qualification—the ability to read and understand the constitution—and in a very few states a small property qualification. On the other hand, there are some states where an alien is entitled to vote as soon as he announces his intention to become a citizen. But, with the exception of the provisions as to idiots, none of the causes for disfranchisement is such that a man can not overcome it or prevent it. He is not arbitrarily and irrevocably disfranchised, as women are simply because of their sex.

Occasionally, one hears a man say that the "ignorant men," or "the foreign-born men," or "the men of the lower classes" should not be allowed to vote, but no one makes any serious suggestion or prophecy of changing the form of government. Those who are dissatisfied with the present system apparently realize the futility of trying to take the franchise away from any class which has it, for,

although the men of the present day do not stop to consider why they themselves vote, and seldom recall, except to quote at political meetings, the sentiments which stirred our forefathers—"Taxation without representation is tyranny;" "A just government rests upon the consent of the governed;" "No man is good enough to govern another without that man's consent"—yet every man knows at heart that he could not be self-respecting if he were deprived of the ballot. He knows that whether the franchise is a right or a privilege, every citizen must have it in order to be free, since economic independence, intellectual independence, even spiritual independence can not exist without political freedom as a foundation.

Therefore, the question is not whether men should have a democratic form of government. They have already proved that it is the kind of government they want and the kind they intend to have, even though they make grievous mistakes in trying to live up to their ideals as to what a democracy should be. Nor is it pertinent to discuss whether the voter should meet certain educational, moral or property tests, because our only demand is that those tests be the same for men as for women. The question is, why should women, as women, be disfranchised? Or, in other words, why should women not have the ballot on the same terms as men, no matter what these terms are now or what they may be in the future?

There is no reason why they should not have it. If there were a reason, our opponents would have discovered it long ago. The fact that there is no reason explains why there is so much discussion of woman suffrage—discussion which plays all around the subject, but seldom hits it squarely. Our opponents are continually bringing forward excuses and evasions, which they hope will be mistaken for reasons, but we can seldom persuade them to limit the discussion to the merits of our equal suffrage contention.

For example, they claim that all or the majority of women do not want the vote, or that the women already enfranchised have not always used their political power in such a way as to please every one, or that the women who want the vote should be able to tell before they have it what they will do with it. I contend that we should not answer our opponents when they argue along these lines, because facts as to the results of equal suffrage, or the number of women who want suffrage, or the reason they ought to want it, have no bearing on our question.

Imagine saying to a man of 21, before allowing him to register for the first time:

> You must prove satisfactorily to a majority of your fellow citizens that a majority of the men who are 21, or will become 21, want the ballot; that all the men already enfranchised vote at every election and vote intelligently on all questions; that you, yourself, will use your ballot for useful reforms only, and that you, as well as other men to be enfranchised in the future, can not accomplish the same results without the vote; finally, that you and all future voters will not neglect either your business or your families by taking part in politics.

The mere suggestion of such a procedure is so absurd as to seem out of place in a serious article. Yet the burden of proving that women can over-qualify in precisely such fashion is constantly placed upon suffragists by our press, our statesmen and many men known as serious thinkers along other lines.

It seems to me very unfortunate that we suffragists should ever permit ourselves thus to over-qualify for the vote, which is exactly what we do when we prove or attempt to prove our fitness for the ballot, and our need of it, on any other ground than that of mere citizenship. We should say: The reason men are enfranchised is that, as citizens, they have a stake in the government. The reason women should be enfranchised is because, as citizens, they have a stake in the government. That is all there is to this question of woman suffrage.

But I admit that the temptation to over-qualify is very great because we know so much of the hardships and the ignominy which women have always suffered, and are still suffering, by reason of their political subjection; because we know of so many evils which we want to remedy—evils which affect all of society, as well as women alone; because we know so many fine women who are greatly handicapped in their work by their lack of power; because we are convinced that the world would be a much better and happier place if men and women could work on equal terms; because we know of the splendid results which can already be traced to the enfranchisement of women.

Yet such knowledge constitutes after all merely an added incentive for unlimited determination and ceaseless work. It is the inspiration which makes us force the reason for our enfranchisement to public attention; but it is not in itself the reason.

To illustrate: Many women feel that the greatest good they can do with the ballot is to abolish commercialized vice, to prevent child labor, or to make effective their protest against war. This is perhaps true. We all agree that these evils must be abolished, and that women, unenfranchised, have not and will not be able to abolish them. But the evils themselves and the desire of women to right them do not constitute the reason women should be enfranchised. The reason would remain even though all the evils I have named, or could name, should be abolished at once. We and the women who come after us should have our political power to use in any way we think best. We cannot tell what it will be necessary to do; what women will want to do. All we know is that women must have power to take their part in the government of their country and that the only honest, dignified, legitimate kind of political power is that which is derived from the elective franchise.

There seems to be no difficulty in proving the justice and logic of equal suffrage to anyone willing and able to think clearly about it. The chief trouble lies in persuading people really to think about it at all. Many women, it must be admitted, do not appreciate the value of a vote. But men have not the same excuse. They understand perfectly the power which the franchise gives, though they themselves do not make the most of it, and they believe in the principles of democracy. The difficulty lies in making them apply these principles to women.

It is indeed fearful and humiliating to belong to a class of people men can forget when speaking of fundamental privileges, but it is even more unfortunate to belong to a class of people men can forget without knowing they are forgetting anything. That is the position of women today. That is the only explanation of the attitude of the President of the United States, whose writings on democracy contain, perhaps, the best arguments ever made in favor of equal suffrage. The only trouble is that the President was not thinking of women when he made these arguments and, therefore, did not apply his conclusions to women as well as to men. There are many men who, like the President, think of us women merely as the wives, sisters and daughters of men, and in their thought of legislation they do not separate us from themselves and their interests. So they say of us in governmental affairs just as they say of us in the family life: "We take care of you; we look after your interests; your interests

are safe in our hands." And, consequently, instead of opposing woman suffrage because of sex antagonism, as is sometimes claimed, they really oppose woman suffrage on the ground of sex guardianship.

And that is where we women have lost all along, not by the antagonism of men, but by the guardianship of men. The idea that we are under tutelage, that we are taken care of, that a woman who works 16 hours a day is supported, is responsible for the conviction that women contribute nothing to the country's wealth, that they have done nothing toward the upbuilding of the nation, and are, therefore, not entitled to an opinion on the nation's problems.

If men would divest themselves for one moment of the thought that women are related to them and other men, if they would think of women as they think of each other, as distinct human beings, with all the rights and privileges and desires and hopes and aspirations of human beings, then I doubt very much whether any man fundamentally sound and logical in his attitude toward great moral and political questions could ever again utter a democratic principle without recognizing its application to the womanhood of the nation.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE OPPOSED TO WOMAN'S RIGHTS

By Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge,

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Equal suffrage awaits a trial. Woman suffrage as tried in the United States is the most unequal division of responsibilities imaginable. The voting woman has retained most of the special rights and exemptions accorded her under man-made laws, while she has failed to discharge the obligations which the voting man assumes with the elective franchise. The vote of the man is a sort of contract to support the verdict of the ballot box, if need be, by the jury box, the cartridge belt, the sheriff's summons. The voting woman is exempt from these obligations. She is a privileged voter. While she may have political power, she does not have political control. Stability of government demands that the control of government should remain in the hands of those who can be held responsible for results. Frederick Harrison cautions us that "Men, and men only, are entitled to political control since, in the last resort, it is their muscular force which has to make good and defend it."

Certainly it is unequal suffrage while women retain the exemptions demanded by their physical nature, and exercise political power without political responsibility. Such inequalities menace the stability of the state. Some venturesome enthusiasts declare that women wish no special rights, no special laws, but wish to be treated "exactly as the men are." But such consistency as this is rare; it would be a brutal interpretation of woman's rights to insist that the hard-won body of legislation, which protects woman because she is the potential mother, be abolished and the vote given to woman in exchange. Yet this and this only is *equal* suffrage. "To treat women exactly as men" is to deny all the progress through evolution which has been made by an increasing specialization of function. Woman suffrage in its last analysis is a retrogressive movement toward conditions where the work of man and woman was the same because neither sex had evolved enough to see the wisdom of being a specialist in its own line.

Reform work, welfare work, desirable and necessary though they may be to offset the results of faulty education, are not the sole end of government. Legislation dealing with these measures responds to the pressure of public opinion which woman, the educator, supreme factor in the social order, dominates. But government is not reform legislation. In the last analysis government is concerned with the protection of persons and property. It is well for us in these days of fantastic legislation, of the promulgation of unenforced and unenforceable laws to recall Thomas Jefferson's dictum that a democracy ceases to be such when those who make the laws cease to be those who can enforce the laws.

We are all agreed on the right of every woman, as of every man, to that individual development which shall make possible her fullest contribution to the social order. If it can be shown, as Ex-President Taft suggests, that women

> have been unjustly prejudiced by governmental measures or by lack of them and that they could remedy this by their vote, or if they can show that, by the extension of the franchise to women either the general government would be better or stronger, or the existing electorate would be improved in its average moral tone, its intelligence, its political discrimination, its patriotism and attention to political duties, they make their case.

In a democracy the people are "bound to obedience under what is undoubtedly the will of the majority." It has yet to be shown that the majority of women are behind this demand for political activities. If women are intelligent enough to vote, are they not intelligent enough to know whether or not they are ready to assume the responsibilities of government? Those who insist that political justice demands woman's enfranchisement must recognize the right of woman to say whether or not she shall be drafted into political activities, a right based upon woman's concern in the establishment and maintenance of sound public policies.

Under the common law which we inherited from England, woman suffered many disabilities and inequalities. Without the woman's vote and under man-made laws these inequalities have been gradually reduced until the statute books of most states record the legal rights and exemptions of women, laws which discriminate in favor of women in regard to such matters as dower rights, alimony, and personal property and laws, which show that woman, instead of being "unjustly prejudiced by governmental measures," has been

given special protection under the law in recognition of the fact that as a woman she has a special service to perform for the state and the state must surround her with protective legislation in order that she may be most efficient where the state demands her highest efficiency; in order that the motherhood of the race may be protected and that future citizens shall have the birth right and the inheritance of a strong and vigorous childhood.

Because of her lowered physical and nervous vitality, the woman worker has had to be protected in her industrial life in order that the state might conserve her value as the woman citizen. Women cannot be treated exactly as men are, and motherhood, potential or actual, does determine woman's efficiency in industrial and social undertakings. Merely dropping a piece of paper in the ballot box is not a contribution to stable government unless that piece of paper be followed up by persistent and ofttimes aggressive activities in the field of political strife.

While the cry for political equality (which we contend is political inequality) has gone on, the civil and legal rights of women have been established without the woman's vote. Furthermore, it may be stated that wherever the votes of women have been added to the votes of men there has been no evidence of initiative in legislation distinct from the normal trend of such legislation in male suffrage states. Since this is so, the woman's vote would seem to be a waste of energy, because a duplication of effort, and there is no compensating gain to offset the economic loss of two people doing what one person can do.

The woman's vote has not been necessary to open the opportunities for higher education to her. Women like Mary Lyon, Emily Willard and Catherine Beecher, who had no concern with the woman suffrage agitation, did their splendid pioneer educational work and the woman of today reaps the harvest. The right of woman to enter the trades or professions has been won independent of her political activities. It is true that a dozen or more trades are closed to her, but her participation in these threatens her welfare as a woman and the state reserves the right to limit her activities therein. Male suffrage states have recognized the need of vocational training for woman and have opened trade schools wherein girls might become skilled workers and so be in a position to command higher wages. The appalling fact of woman in industry is that she is often so young

and so unskilled that she consequently commands a low wage. A survey of the wage earning women of the United States reveals the fact that nearly one-third of these are under voting age. The right of the industrial woman to organization for collective bargaining is recognized. No vote of woman was necessary to give her this equality with the working man. The right of woman to protection in the courts, the right of our women to claim the protection as citizens under the United States flag, is established on an absolute equality with man's similar right, without woman's political activities. The married woman has the right to hold property separately; to make contracts and to control her wages. Equality would demand that a husband should have a right to his own earnings, but society demands that his earnings shall be liable for the support and maintenance of his family while, except in some woman suffrage states, the wife's earnings are exempt from such liability. Even in those states where equal guardianship laws are not written on the statute books the practice of the courts, in those unfortunate instances where the family is disrupted, gives the guardianship of minor children to the mother provided she is a fit person and can provide means for their support. The divorce courts certainly reveal no inequalities in the granting of divorce to men and women, while the courts grant to men no provision corresponding to the woman's alimony.

The first commission to investigate a minimum wage for women was appointed in the male suffrage state of Massachusetts. The fundamental basis of a standard law for woman in industry is acknowledged to be the prohibition of night work, because of the damaged health of the working woman who is engaged in industrial pursuits by night and undertakes woman's work in the home by day. Nebraska, Massachusetts and Indiana blazed the path for this legislation. Within the last year, the great industrial states of New York and Pennsylvania have followed. In none of these states do women vote, but in all of these states public opinion has demanded that woman should not be handicapped in the offering of her highest efficiency. The state cannot permit the creation of the efficient worker at the cost of the efficient woman. *Equal* suffrage would demand that woman should enter into competition with man in a fair field with favor to none, but woman's welfare demands protection under the laws.

The best child labor laws are found in male suffrage states. Industrial and economic conditions have revealed the necessity of these laws. Public opinion in which the work of women played a noble part has urged their enactment and the votes of women have not been necessary to further the release of the child from the burden of industrial life.

The hideous white slave traffic and the dread social evil must be corrected by education rather than by political propaganda. Laws must follow as the knowledge of the extent of the evil awakens the public conscience and the moral sense of the people is aroused. Woman will find her work as the educator who develops a trained and scientific opinion, not as the politician who must control votes.

Women have a right to demand political responsibility if thereby the existing electorate would be improved "in its average moral tone, its intelligence, its political discrimination, its patriotism and attention to political duties." The burden of proving that the enlarged electorate would be an improved electorate rests on those who demand the change. Many women are more intelligent, more moral than many men, but the morality and intelligence of women and men of the same opportunities and environment strike about the same average and it has yet to be shown that the doubling of the electorate, the wise, the foolish, the patriotic, the self-seeking, would improve the electorate. The enfranchised woman seems to give even less attention than man to political duties, if we are to trust election returns. If woman suffrage is to increase the danger which confronts us today in the indifferent and stay-at-home voter, the patriotic women have the right to protest against the imposition upon women of responsibilities which would not be fulfilled. The right to vote carries with it a moral responsibility of exercising the franchise, therefore the majority of women who do not believe in woman suffrage have the right to protest against this obligation.

The life of the average woman is not so ordered as to give her first hand knowledge of those things which are the essentials of sound government. Clean streets and pure milk are sure to come as the knowledge of sanitary living increases Tariff reform, fiscal policies, international relations, those large endeavors which men now determine, are foreign to the concerns and pursuits of the average woman. She is worthily employed in other departments of life, and the vote will not help her to fulfill her obligations therein.

The exceptional woman, who by some combination of circumstances is released from these obligations of the average woman, is today rendering public service which is distinctive because it is removed from personal, political ambitions. She has the right to serve the state and serves well in proportion to her freedom from party strife; she does not divert her efforts for the solution of social problems to the machinery of political organization. Herein lies the exceptional woman's distinctive contribution, not as a politician but as a disinterested factor working to render public service uncolored by political motives. Our exceptional American women are rapidly entering the ranks of those who thus serve the state. The patriotic women of England have been conspicuous in this sort of public service. One of the greatest of these was Octavia Hill, who more than any other one person helped to solve the problem of the housing of the poor. Out of her real experience she wrote:

> I believe that men and women help one another because they are different, have different gifts and different spheres and that the world is made on the principle of mutual help. A serious loss to our country would arise if women entered into the arena of party struggle and political life. So far from raising the standard, I believe they would lose the power of helping to keep it up by their influence on the men who know and respect them. Political power would militate against their usefulness in the large field of public work in which so many are now doing noble and helpful service. This service is far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be. You can double the number of voters and achieve nothing, but have used up, in achieving nothing, whatever thought and time your women voters have given to such duties.
>
> Let the woman be set on finding her duties, not her rights—there is enough of struggle for place and power, enough of watching what is popular and will win votes, enough of effort to secure majorities: if woman would temper this wild struggle, let her seek to do her own work steadily and earnestly.

It is woman's right to be exempt from political responsibility in order that she may be free to render her best service to the state. The state has surrounded her with protective legislation in order that she may attain her highest efficiency in those departments of the world's work for which her nature and her training fit her.

THE SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE BALLOT UPON WOMEN

By Emilie J. Hutchinson,

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The reaction of enfranchisement upon women's status in society and upon women themselves is one of the most interesting phases of the suffrage movement, but one which, for very good reasons, has been comparatively neglected. The philosophy of the movement and its social significance are too abstract to be generally useful in controversy and persuasion. The average person wants to know what women would do with the vote if they had it, what effect their vote has had upon legislation in the equal suffrage states and countries. His practical sense is appealed to when the relation of the vote to the work of looking after the home is indicated. His reason and sense of justice respond to such arguments as that of women being taxed without direct representation in the taxing authorities, of women forced to obey laws which they have had no direct voice in making. But when it comes to the subjective influence that the ballot may have upon women, the question moves out of the field of concrete and familiar interests, and of the simpler canons of justice and right. It becomes, instead, a question of social philosophy and psychology. It is for that reason, however, no less important as an argument for enfranchisement, and the present paper is given over to its consideration.

In approaching this phase of the question, we shall take as our fundamental premise that the development of human life has been conditioned by social relationships. In its most primitive forms, the advantage in the struggle for existence rested with the individuals who had the capacity for coöperation for purposes of aggression or defense. Mental and spiritual life had their origin and stimulus in the associated activity of play, festival and ceremony. Literature, art, and religion—all the higher activities of mind and spirit—owe their debt to the interchange of thought and feeling between man and his companions. Those we call the social virtues—sympathy, toleration, justice, unselfishness, self-control—all had their development in the association of human beings.

In the exercise of the social impulse and the growth of the social nature, the experience of women has been strikingly different from that of men. Such data as we have of their history reveal them as a group rigidly denied an opportunity for the development that comes from the establishment of wide and varied relations with their fellows. A review of the factors that have operated to exclude women from sharing as equals in the business of the common life would go far beyond the limits of this paper. Speaking generally their social and economic interests, and indeed the primary question of survival itself, have been promoted chiefly through influence with a particular individual—father, husband, or other male relative—rather than through direct coöperation with other women or with other men and women. Custom and tradition, built upon this fact, created an environment that kept them as a class apart and emphasized a fancied difference between their interests and capacities and those of men.

No serious attack was made upon the underpinning of this point of view until late in the eighteenth century. It was then, for the first time, that the condition of earning a livelihood for large numbers of women was offered on terms that did not imply personal service for their own families. A new way of carrying on their ordinary occupations was inaugurated with the invention of the spinning machine and the rise of the factory system—a way that was destined finally to drive the old household methods out of existence, except in remote places untouched by the new industrial order. Under the influence of an aggressive capitalism, women were drawn rapidly into an employ where their rôle as producers was divorced from their personal family relations. Never before had they worked in daily contact with each other as wage-earners. Never before had the occasion been offered for social impersonal relationships in the serious business of earning a living.

A new knowledge of each other, a new sense of comradeship, awakened under its influence. In defiance of the popular belief that there was something in the nature of women so different from that of men that it precluded the possibility of coöperation with other women, they have shown again and again their ability to stand by each other, to subordinate personal interests to the interest of the group. They have displayed courage and fortitude when it was necessary to face hardship and defeat. The progress of labor organ-

ization among industrial women compares very favorably with that among men, especially if one considers the tremendous obstacles that have been in their way—the public opinion that they were intruders in this field, that they ought to be at home, the youth of a great number of the group, their temporary stay in industry. An interesting thing about the organization of working women is the way that it has been fostered and strengthened by the direct help of women of widely different economic groups. It furnishes an example of a rare sense of solidarity. Factory operatives and women of independent incomes have joined in the effort to improve the working conditions of industrial employees. The sympathy and helpfulness of large-visioned women have bridged the distance that lies between the women of leisure and the women of toil, and they have worked as comrades in a common cause.

In other fields than the industrial, women have also shaken the tradition of their inability to work together. The reaction that women show today to their educational freedom upsets a lot of the notions we have inherited about the atmosphere of seclusion in which womanly natures have been supposed to thrive. In school and college, girls from families of varying economic status meet together in a democratic society. The question of economic condition is worthy of note because it is such a barrier in our ordinary social relations. From the start, the student finds herself identified by class denomination with anywhere from one hundred to five hundred others. Ask the average college girl what her college course has meant to her. In nine out of ten cases you will find that "it has been such a wonderful experience!" Probe this statement, and you will discover that it sums up the influence of associated activity in games, in dramatics, in class or society functions, in the numerous non-academic interests. It reflects the stimulus that has come in the broadening of her mental horizon, partly in the formal training of the class room, partly in the exchange of thought and experience with girls of many sorts from different parts of the country. Whatever fault may be found with our educational system, it has at least provided a belated opportunity for women to share in the social stimulus that men have found and prized in academic institutions.

The use that women have made of the increased leisure that has come to thousands of them in the last half century is further evidence of their enthusiasm for coöperative experience, of their

capacity to perfect organization, of their interest in social movements. Whether in a Browning club or a village improvement society, women have felt the stimulus of conscious coöperative effort. Today the General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing a membership of millions of women all over the land, is convincing evidence of women's organizing capacity, of their ability to provide and work with the machinery of association. What stronger refutation could there be of the time-worn assertion that women's interests are narrow and personal than is found in the resolutions passed at the biennial convention last summer in Chicago. Of the twenty-three resolutions, fourteen were concerned with matters that are of such general import as to require legislative action. The improvement of rural schools, the establishment of social centers for public discussion, increased appropriations for state and city boards of health, the protection of women and children from the danger of fire in factory and public meeting place,—these and other matters of public interest make up the bulk of the resolutions. Of the interests that are typical of "the woman's page," there is mention only when the federation goes on record as "heartily in favor of the movement for simple, becoming, and modest designs in women's clothes!"

From this brief indication of the reaction that women have shown when life has offered the opportunity to escape from a narrow and restricted environment, let us pass to the influence of enfranchisement upon women's status in society and upon women themselves. The most obvious effect of the vote is that it puts women upon a plane of political equality with other normal adults. Instead of being ranked in the political status of the criminal and the incompetent, they are recognized as persons entitled to express their opinion through the ballot upon matters of collective interest. Universal suffrage stands for a certain recognition of the stake that all human beings, irrespective of sex, have in the general welfare, and destroys a false sense of sex limitations.

By virtue of their new standing in the community, women assume an equal responsibility with men for both good and bad legislation. They become co-partners in the success or failure that accompanies legislative experiments, made presumably for their benefit. Many women are at present indifferent to matters of grave social concern, matters vitally affecting the welfare of their homes and families, because they lie in a field with which, they have been

taught, it is man's peculiar province to deal. A sense of personal responsibility would arouse women to take an interest in these questions such as they can never have as long as they are excluded from the enfranchised group.

Through this means their social relationships would be more clearly defined. To have a social imagination—to see other people's problems as our own—is a very rare possession. There are great difficulties in the way of knowing persons outside of a rather limited circle in a society like our own where the conditions of life are highly complex. Moreover, we are brought up in an atmosphere of custom and tradition that holds over from a fundamentally different social organization. Part of this tradition persists in the ideal that would shelter women from contact with the sterner sides of life,—an ideal which is no less misguided because it is well-meaning. Enfranchisement would open the eyes of many women who have not yet seen how closely interwoven are the interests of all men and women. Their mental horizon would be extended by the necessity of grappling with questions hitherto conveniently left for someone else to decide. These questions would have been positively fixed for their consideration since they are assumed and expected to vote upon them.

In exercising the right to vote, women are drawn into a wider circle of associated effort than any they have hitherto known. Here they find a chance to test their power of working with people. Here they find new demands made upon their toleration and sympathy. A basis of common purpose must be created so strong and compelling that it shall hold together the mixed elements of the group, and enable them to unite in promoting their collective interests. Are women equal to it? No adequate answer can be given merely through a process of introspection and reflection. Nor can it be found in argument or debate. The appeal must be made to experimentation. No limit can be set to women's capacity to develop new powers of coöperation until they are given the widest freedom for self-expression and for the practise of coöperative virtues.

Looking over the past century it is apparent that the trend of progress has been in the direction of removing the artificial distinctions that have been made between the interests of men and those of women, between the methods appropriate to men and women respectively in the development of their personalities, in the promotion of their common welfare. The enfranchisement of women

has been one of many factors that have contributed to this movement. Today it is taking precedence above all others. Women seem to have reached a point in their struggle for freedom where further progress is conditioned by the changed relation of men and women, the changed attitude of women themselves that comes with the right to vote.

It is well to bear in mind the enthusiasm and the determination with which in the face of great obstacles women have projected their vision beyond the narrow circle of home and family interests to see the changes that have revolutionized their household activities, and have undertaken the task of social adjustment that they demand. It is well to remember the spirit and the eagerness with which they have seized such part as they could gain in the rich and varied interests of life. Is it not reasonable to predict that the sense of social unity that such exceptional women have shown would be aroused by enfranchisement in countless other women who need definite encouragement to break through the barriers that keep them restricted in mental outlook and social sympathy?

THE EVOLUTION OF A NEW WOMAN

By Simon N. Patten, Ph.D.,
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The question is often asked, "What do you think of the militant movement that now bewilders England?" Shall our women follow the course of the English suffrage movement, or should American opinion be directed in other channels? To justify the latter opinion one must explain the position in which English women find themselves. When this is understood, their action is excusable, and perhaps justifiable. Perhaps they have taken the only method by which their cause can be advanced in England, for to understand English methods we must study the ways in which Englishmen solve social problems. They decide woman suffrage in the same way they decide other problems. This we must comprehend in order to understand how women in England act, and why their program has been shaped as it has been. The striking fact of English discussion is that some antagonistic contrast or dilemma is emphasized, making the differences in opinion of more importance than existing agreements. It is interesting to hear Englishmen arguing the Irish question. Although they are divided into two groups on this topic, the method of reasoning is the same whether they oppose or favor home rule. The fundamental premise is that an Irishman is different from an Englishman. One party says that the Irishman differs from the Englishman, therefore he is inferior and must be suppressed. The other party, using the premise that the Irishman differs from the Englishman, argues from it that peculiar institutions should be given to Ireland.

With the same dogmatism they assert that Americans differ from Englishmen, declaring that to be characteristically American which is disliked as different. The American is thus the man with crass notions or crude opinions. It seems not to have occurred to them that the same crude opinions and ideas could be found on the streets of London, nor are they those which give the tone to American life. Englishmen love to use premises that exaggerate differences in men and in opinions. We find the attitude taken on all sorts of

problems. The Catholic is assumed to be radically different from the Protestant, and the man of Ulster is likewise different from the man of Dublin, although he may be only a hundred miles away. When it is carried over into the woman problem, this separates men from women by making those things characteristic of men and women in which they differ, rather than those where they are alike; and as a result an impassable gulf is created between the two which there is no rational way of crossing. Woman from this viewpoint is sex; man is intellect. Or, put in another way, woman is frailty; man is character. No agreement is possible with a man who defines woman as sex or frailty and thinks of himself as the embodiment of intellect and character.

The best representative of this attitude, and perhaps more than any other writer its source, is Thomas Carlyle. The endeavor to create impossible contrasts runs more freely through his writings than those of any other Englishman with whose work I am familiar. In Carlyle's way of thinking the few are good and the many bad; therefore the only way to get progress is through the coercion of the many by the few. Force is thus an essential element in attaining social stability, and the consequences if carried out logically would be the suppression of the many and the practical revival of serfdom. It follows from this thought that the man who coerces is a hero, and that the leaders who have used coercion are regarded as the great national heroes. This viewpoint is reflected in all English controversies. One sees it as plainly in the writings of the radical Mr. Shaw as in those of the conservative Mr. Chesterton. It is as plain in *The Saturday Review* or *The Spectator* as in *The New Statesman.*

Such a standpoint, and the methods derived from it, would lead to anarchy if there were not another English trait preventing the carrying out of coercive programs. Fortunately for England there is a limit put to the execution of logical plans of repression, and that is the high estimation of the English for martyrs. The one group standing in English opinion with the heroes who succeed are the martyrs who die. The result is that any doctrine producing martyrs brings an emotional reaction against the logic that would lead to its suppression. It is said there must be something right in the judgment of a man who will die for his cause; public opinion is fearful about putting such a man to the test; so the martyr is safe.

Perhaps it is this sentimental attitude toward martyrdom that keeps English institutions workable under the standard set up by Carlyle and his contemporaries. We may even go so far as to say that if the Irish want home rule they must produce martyrs; and in like manner, if Ulster wants to prevent home rule, it must produce a crop of willing sacrifices. The Irish question, indeed, is not at present being argued out, because there is no common basis of understanding among the Englishman, the Irishman, and the citizen of Ulster. The struggle is simply a test as to whether the minority can incite rebellion, or at least excite that kind of interest that makes people anxious to martyr themselves. Nobody is going to kill either an Irishman or a citizen of Belfast, and therefore the would-be martyr is safe.

This same situation is faced by the believers in woman suffrage and has created a prominent type of English woman. From the arbitrary premise that woman is frail and man has character, or that woman is sex and man is intellect, there is no way of arguing the sex problem on common ground, or of settling differences by compromise. Men are polite to the suffragettes if they belong to their own class, but they are indifferent to the demand which as a class women may make. In the same way the feeling of chivalry stops them from severely punishing ladies who interfere with public peace or destroy private property. The only means, therefore, that women have of influencing public opinion is by showing their willingness to be martyrs; which means that they break the law and then dare men to punish them. This has resulted in the hunger strike on the part of the women, and in forced feeding as a counter movement on the part of the authorities. No one, however, is willing that any woman should make a martyr of herself, and, as a result, the women have easily come out ahead.

Such is the situation at present in England, with no way out but revolution, or a radical modification in the way in which Englishmen solve their problems. England has, of course, progressed, but her progress may be defined as brute struggle tempered by sentiment. In England's evolution there is no regular movement of thought from the solution of one problem to the solution of the next. Each new problem is fought out in the same crude fashion.

This fact Americans must understand in order to realize the differences between American and English situations and so be able

to contrast the policies demanded in America with the policies advisable in England. It is proper to ask whether the American suffrage movement needs heroes and martyrs, or whether the progress of women in America should take place in an evolutionary manner. While the revolutionary type of reasoning is very familiar to us, it should be noted that all great American decisions have been evolutionary instead of revolutionary. This statement may be questioned, yet I believe that the facts in America are on the side of evolution in contrast to revolution. The instance of revolution most commonly used in this country is that of the Civil War. But we should remember that in that case it was the South that revolted against the evolutionary changes of public opinion, and that the South was defeated. Our great leaders in progress have been Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, and in each case they carried the nation with them and their policies with such unanimity as to break their opponent's power. The same transformation is happening at the present time, and there is little question that the evolutionary methods as represented by President Wilson will make an epoch in our history perhaps as important as any preceding period. He at least has an opportunity for achievement; and should he fail, some other statesman will come forward who will transform public opinion as successfully as did Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln in their days. The slow, steady modification in the thought of the American man has been characteristic of him, and in all likelihood will be even more dominant in future decisions than it has been in the past. Though it is possible that we may have dynamite outrages by impatient laborers or narrow suppressive policies on the part of brutal capitalists, yet after all, each of these groups, representing only a small part of the American people, will be compelled in the end to join with the great mass in a steady forward movement.

The suffrage problem can therefore be stated in this way: Shall women and men become antagonistic and form separate groups, each of which has a way of stating its position and its differences from its opponents, or shall we tend toward a unified public opinion in which women participate as well as men? When women vote should we expect two parties, one dominated by women and the other by men, or shall we have a united public opinion gaining force because both men and women participate in its formation? It has been said recently that woman suffrage in the western states was a

failure because no special measures had been enacted by women, thus showing that women voted as the male members of their families voted. To my mind, this indicates the success, and not the failure, of the movement. Harmonious families have common ideas. The end of suffrage is not to make men and women clash in their public relations, but to find some rational way of creating social harmony. If this harmony is obtained, it will show itself, not as a public difference between men and women, but as a difference between the ideas and ideals of one age and those preceding. Happy will be the time when we shall know of no such thing as a woman's opinion or a man's opinion. All opinions will then be evolutionary and pragmatic because they are based on the common experience of our race and harmonize with our civilization.

These facts will help us to see how the militant movement arose in England and why the early representatives of the woman movement took the position they did. There is, however, another view, representing the attitude of a younger generation, whose acceptance of advanced views is a faith, not an argument. The position of older women was determined by the tradition of the group to which they belong, or was the outcome of an intellectual attitude fostered by their education. Such arguments turn on the difference between the intellectual viewpoint of the latter group and the traditional attitude of the former. These arguments, whether pro or con, do not give the real difference between the opposing groups. If the contrast is made between sex and intellect, the indefinite, prolonged argument brings no results. This happens so long as the arguments about suffrage are determined either by logic or by tradition.

Another method of treating the problem is to regard it as a phase of the evolution of modern society. Dynamic changes break down the static opposition which earlier views had to each other. The world is now, perhaps as never before, in the process of evolution, and woman is changing with every other factor in it. If this is granted, the changes can be measured in ways that explain the difference between advancing thought and the earlier attitude by noting the correspondence between the change observed and the general changes in the community. Viewed in this way the evolution of woman may be regarded as a change in tradition, a change in intellectual conviction, a change in character, or a change in physical traits. If evolution is taking place in each of these fields,

there should be marks by which we may distinguish the new from the old. A measure may be found of ideas, of character, and of physical traits by observing the changes that are now taking place among women. I shall confine myself to physical traits, since they are more readily measured than are those in other fields. The evidence of modification is also more objective and certain. The question presents itself: "Is woman a changing organism, or is merely a changing intellectual attitude observable?"

A New York paper recently published in its magazine section the pictures of sixty women, with the aim of portraying what are the traits to be found among American women, and thus fixing upon the most beautiful. It is interesting to see the standards taken in the selection of these representative women. The judges reflected the artistic convictions as to what is beautiful. There is thus a sameness characterizing these pictures that shows the basis upon which artistic judgment rests. Two facial features are especially prominent—the small, straight nose, and the sad expression of countenance. Artists perhaps think that these are the traits by which women are to be judged. They merely prove, however, that the artistic judgment is the traditional judgment, and that, controlled by these conventional ideas, artists reject types of women that do not correspond to it. To make this plain I shall insert a table of the traditional marks, giving on the one hand the feature, and on the other the quality that it is supposed to represent from the traditional view.

Feature	Quality
Square face	Courage
Straight nose	Intellect
Short chin	Impulsiveness
Thin lips	Selfishness
Sad expression	Morality
Paleness	Spirituality
Small waist	Grace
Small hands	Elegance

These associations would be difficult to interpret if we did not know the history of racial development and its influence upon our social traditions. The straight nose apparently gets its relation to the intellect through the fact that a straight nose is called Grecian, and the Grecians were an intellectual people. The association of

sadness with morality can also be readily explained when we understand how character development has taken place. Sadness means hardship, and hardship is associated with moral superiority. So it is easy to see why the sad countenance should be assumed to be an index of a woman's morality. A pale face is thought to be spiritual, while a dark, ruddy face is assumed to be vicious. Small hands and small waists have been associated with grace and elegance; this easily may be accounted for when we realize that aristocratic women have these peculiarities. The connection between health and fatness runs back to the primitive times when hunger and starvation were determining factors in the social environment. The ability to take on fat gave therefore an increased power of survival.

The real significance of the emphasis of this group of traits is this: We had, during past historical epochs, a short-lived race of women among whom there was a premature sex development. In such a group the period of child-bearing comes early. The evils accompanying this condition have been increased by the brutality of men. I recently read the narrative of a traveler who visited a primitive tribe; he said that there was no girl above nine years old who was a virgin. Such facts can account for premature sex development, the ills that go with it, and the traits characteristic of it; but it is a tragic error to imply that corresponding traits at the present time are indices of woman's development.

What, then, are the tests of normal development by which we can measure the difference between the primitive over-sexed woman and the type which at present is rapidly becoming the normal woman? In the first place, there is a delay in sexual maturity; a second evidence of advance is in muscular strength; a third in full bone development; a fourth in will power; and a fifth in longevity. Few, I think, would deny that these qualities are advantageous, or that they are a better measure of woman's physical development than those that were chosen at an earlier date.

In the past we have had one group of traits called masculine, and another group called feminine. This, however, is not because all men have masculine traits, and all women the so-called feminine traits. It is merely that more individuals with certain characteristics are to be found among men, and more with others among the women. But what is the cause of difference? The traits called feminine are evidences of physical retardation and imperfect devel-

opment, while the traits called masculine are marks of full development. Women are more subject than men to the physical disorders creating retardation; more of them, therefore, have remained on a low physical level. The result has been that the traits due to retardation and imperfect development have become regarded as sex traits, instead of evidences of physical inferiority. A race of fully developed women would have the same traits that men have, because they would advance through all the stages of physical progress that their heredity permits. We would have a healthy woman if premature sex excitement could be avoided. This view assumes that the physical traits called feminine are the result of retardation and degeneration, and that the lower physical and mental status of women can be removed by better conditions and the full physical development that would follow. If the facts bear out this position, the improved physical condition of women should create changes in their physical traits, and the new generation of women would show some of the results of the recent improvement that has taken place in their condition.

In the discussion of traits we must look at their physical basis to perceive their real meaning, and so determine whether particular forms of face and bodily development are the outcome of female heredity or of some abnormality in growth. Of this the face is the best index, because the different parts of the face are developed in different stages of child growth, and therefore the presence or lack of certain facial characteristics is a sign of the normality or abnormality of the individual at the time when this growth took place. The central part of the face represents the earliest development; most individuals have this part of their face fairly well developed. The upper face represents the next stage, while the lower face is the last to develop. The head is formed before birth; and so whatever causes retarding facial development must have been in operation before birth. When the upper face is undeveloped it would indicate that the nutriment of the mother was defective. An evidence of this is that we find a low, sloping forehead most prevalent where a defective nutrition is common. The undeveloped lower face, however, has the opposite cause, for we find a weak lower face among the newer races and higher classes, rather than among those who are subjected to great hardships. It is therefore a natural inference that the trouble lies primarily in over-nutrition, which forms

toxins in the system, retarding development. Without making too much of this argument about the presence or absence of nutrition, two things are plain. One is that the lower races have usually a well-developed central and lower face, while the higher races have a well-developed upper and middle face. The normal face in contrast to this is the oval face, which has a broader chin and forehead than that found in the round faced Madonna.

The same contrasts appear in the side view of the face. We have the flat face, which corresponds to the round face as seen from the front view. This type of face indicates a weak character. In contrast to this we have a full center face with a prominent nose and high cheek bones. This indicates complete development, and strong muscular powers. Such men have a strong will, full muscular development, and an ability to endure long and severe hardships. This type of man furnishes the managers, financiers, directors, superintendents, and other leaders of the industrial world.

When we apply these tests to women, we find that most women belong to the first of these groups. They are there, not because of any sex heredity, but because of the retardation and degeneration that have been coupled with their development. Better health is bringing more women into the second group, and as a result the type of face is correspondingly changed. We thus get the self-reliant woman, the ambitious woman, and the woman with a faith and vision. She will become the dominant type as the general health and intellectual vigor of women increase, and as a result, not merely the physical, but also the intellectual, differences between men and women will diminish.

To make my position clear I shall restate my argument. The form of elimination acting on women through past ages has checked the evolution of her physical and mental traits. The result has been a lowering of her vital powers, a shorter life, and a loss of mental vigor. The so-called feminine traits reflect this depressed condition due to ill health, bad environment, and premature sex maturity. They are a load woman must throw off to regain normality and to start anew the evolutionary process. The woman's movement of recent years reflects the improvement now going on in her physical, as well as in her economic, condition. The static woman of the past is now an elderly lady with reactionary opinions. She may like it or not like it, but from her viewpoint a change is going

on, the effects of which are shown more clearly as each new group of young women comes to maturity. These physical changes can be readily seen on the streets by anyone who cares to observe them. The vigor of young women, their greater height and cheerful look, is everywhere in evidence. It is especially noticeable in the suffrage parades. The women who swing with easy step from one end of Fifth avenue to the other are those of whom any nation might be proud. Should there be an anti-suffrage parade it would be necessary to carry the women in hacks. It is amusing to see the latter pose as mothers when they are so plainly inferior to those in the other camp. Count the children of each group and then the real facts come out, for real mothers are women of muscle and bone, not pale-faced do-nothings.

In the face of this physical uplift men's choices still remain so conventional. The young man of today has Madonna faces on the walls of his room, and he sees them on the cover of every magazine. He spends his time in looking for a girl that fits this false ideal of womanhood, and ends in getting an incapable wife who bears no children, does no work, and is fit for no place but a sanitarium. This choice is creating a serious crisis, for it brings into wedlock those not fitted for it, and keeps out those whom nature designed for mothers. It is a queer notion of men that the driving, independent girls about them do not make good wives and mothers. They are in reality women of intenser feeling, who would show their loyalty and devotion if men would change their prejudices, and let them function as wives and mothers. They are eager for self-support, and often show a disregard for masculine views; not because of any sex antagonism, but merely because they come to sex and mental maturity later than do the "sweet sixteens" men admire. Love at sixteen is a fickle fancy; love at twenty-six, coming as a natural development, is a deep abiding life force. The girl who works and waits is the good wife, because she is ready for her new functions. Her husband is her life; her work is a joy; and her children are her self-expression. Men in the end must see this, and when they do, good-bye to the divorce courts and nervous breakdowns. Health and efficiency create happiness, and it in turn is the basis of true comradeship. Democracy must in the end express itself in the coöperative family, to the support of which all contribute, and out of which come happiness, health, long life, and

vigorous children. To women of this type suffrage is not an argument, but the outcome of their life and vitality. They are love, work, and duty combined. Happy will be the day when men see this and choose helpmates instead of dolls. On this the future of the race depends. Give the new woman a chance and her superiority as a mother will be as marked as in other fields.

POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN AND WOMEN'S WAGES

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An examination of the wage-scales of women workers brings out two striking facts: first, the wage level of a large number of women is conspicuously below the level which would make possible competent and efficient life; second, the wage level of women is conspicuously lower than the wage level of men.

On the first point, reference is made to various sources dealing with women's wages in England, such as the report of the parliamentary committee on home work in 1907,[1] the report of the wages boards established under the trade boards act of 1909,[2] the reports of the bureau of labor on women and child wage earners,[3] the reports of commissions established in several states to consider the creation of minimum wage commissions,[4] and the reports of such minimum wage commissions as have reported determinations, e.g., Massachusetts and Oregon.[5] These sources furnish material relating to many trades employing women and girls in many sections of the country under urban, village and rural conditions.

In support of the second statement reference is made to Sydney Webb's classic study of women's wages made in 1891;[6] to the re-

[1] *Reports of Select Committees of House of Commons on Home Work*, 1907, No. 290; 1908, No. 246.

[2] Constance Smith, "Working of Trade Board Acts in Great Britain and Ireland," in *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. xxii, p. 605, July, 1914.

[3] Senate Doc. No. 645, 61 Cong., 2 sess.

[4] *Massachusetts, Report of the Commission on Minimum Wage Boards*, January, 1912. (House Doc. No. 1697). Boston, 1912. Oregon, Industrial Welfare Commission. Report of the Social Survey Committee of the Consumers' League of Oregon on the wages, hours, and condition of work, and cost and standard of living of woman-wage-earners in Oregon, with special reference to Portland. Portland, 1913, 71 p.

[5] *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage Boards*, House Doc. (1912) No. 1697. For Oregon see several items in *The Survey*, covering various groups of employes in Portland, and in the state at large.

[6] Webb, "Alleged Differences in the Wages paid to Men and Women for Similar Work," in *Economic Journal*, vol. i, p. 635.

port of the royal commission on labour;[7] to Miss Abbott's study of women's wages in America;[8] and the various volumes of the report on women and child wage earners dealing with the cotton, glass, and silk industries, the sewing trades, selected metal trades, work in laundries, and a number of other selected occupations.

The testimony of all this evidence is to the effect that the wages of women workers range from about one-third to about two-thirds of those of men. As will appear later, this generally does not mean that men and women are paid at these different rates for doing the same work, but what appears is an almost complete separation of function between men and women, with the resulting lack of opportunity for women's employment and consequent lower level of pay for women. Weaving in the cotton and silk industries forms a conspicuous exception and even there the men are often paid either at a higher rate on the assumption that they "tune" or "fix" looms, or are paid for the performance of certain other mechanical duties in addition to their pay as weavers.

The question is raised as to whether the exclusion of women from political power is a factor in either of these anti-social characteristics of women's wages and whether the grant of political power would tend to secure for women more nearly a living wage, to raise the wages of women more nearly to an equality with the wages of men.[9] It is the purpose of this paper to set forth the considerations leading to a belief that there is an important connection between lack of political equality and this double under-payment of women workers.

[7] *Report of Royal Commission on Labour* (Cd. 6894), dealing with Women's Work.

[8] Abbott, *Women in Industry*, chap. xii, pp. 262–316; Appendix C, 363–373.

[9] The writer is aware that Mrs. Sydney Webb does not agree with the claim of women to equal pay. It is unnecessary to go into that question here, since Mrs. Webb is a suffragist and evidently believes that the ballot can be used by women to secure a more satisfactory wage level, even if she thinks not even political equality will enable them to secure a reward for their labor determined by purely economic considerations. (See *The New Statesman*, August 22, 1914, p. 613.) It is interesting to recall in this connect on the audience recently granted by Mr. Asquith to the deputation of work ng women from East London. Concerning this, the English *Nation* said among other things: "Even more influential than the force of direct pressure from voters will be the new habit of mind in which Parliament, parties, and the press will be trained when they realize that in fact as well as in sentiment women are half the nation."

That connection may be less immediate than is sometimes urged, but it is more far-reaching, more determining and more important than is often understood. Because they have not taken the trouble to follow the arguments, very distinguished writers have made foolish and ill-considered statements about the lack of connection because of the finality of the law of supply and demand. For example, Mr. Dicey in a serious discussion of the subject,[10] quite ignoring the fact that any influence which affects either item in ratio of demand to supply affects the ratio itself, says cuttingly:

> Lastly, it is asserted that the possession of votes will increase the earnings of women. This probably is of itself enough to enlist every underpaid and under-fed seamstress or maid-of-all-work in the ranks of the fighting suffragists. The plain answer to it is that the prediction, if it means (as every working woman understands it to mean) that a vote will raise the market value of a woman's work, is false. The ordinary current price of labor depends on economical causes, and is not affected by a man's or a woman's possession of the parliamentary franchise. No master raises his footman's wages because the man-servant happens to be a voter; and he will assuredly not raise the wages of his housemaid because he finds that, under some Woman's Enfranchisement Act, she has got her name placed on the parliamentary register. Why, in the name of common sense, should a vote confer upon a woman a benefit which it has never conferred upon a man? We have throughout this article indeed admitted that woman suffrage does increase the chance of Parliament turning its attention towards the wishes of women, and thus may cause any grievance under which a woman suffers to be the more speedily removed. But this admission is a totally different thing from the assertion that a woman's vote will raise her wages.

The wage level does, of course, depend on "economical causes" and is, of course, determined by the relation between the demand for labor and the supply of labor. Whatever influence operates to lessen the supply at any point relatively to the demand at that point or to intensify the demand relatively to the supply will set in motion "economical causes" and will operate favorably to the worker as compared with the employer; whatever influence increases the supply at any point relatively to the demand or weakens the demand will in the same way operate to the disadvantage of the worker at that point as compared with the employer. Whatever influence leads to decisions based on social, historical, accidental considerations rather than on considerations of efficiency, competence,

[10] *Quarterly Review*, vol. ccix, (No. 418), p. 287, January, 1909.

industrial capacity operates through non-economical causes and acts to the advantage of men and to the disadvantage of women, while influences bringing about decisions based on considerations of capacity and efficiency operate to the advantage of women. The extent to which the wage bargain will be favorable or unfavorable to any group of workers, as compared with the employers, will depend on the extent to which (1) the workers do or do not possess skill of a high industrial or professional character; (2) they have or have not alternative opportunities for employment; (3) they can or can not wait, in case no suitable opportunity offers; (4) they can or can not move from place to place in search of employment; (5) they have or have not bargaining strength and shrewdness; (6) they are or are not conscious of a common interest and able to act together.

Before discussing more at length these factors in the relative strength or weakness of women wage earners, certain distinctions should be drawn between different groups of women workers. Because of the very recent date at which the thirteenth census (1910) of occupations was issued (August, 1914) and the consequent greater familiarity of the classification of occupations adopted by the twelfth census (1900), the latter is retained for the purpose of this discussion. According to that classification, gainfully employed persons were grouped in five large classes of occupations: agriculture, professional, domestic and personal service, trade and transportation, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Of the agricultural women, of whom in 1900 there were 977,336, and in 1910 apparently 1,807,050,[11] we know little as to wages or conditions of employment. Of those in domestic and personal service, of whom there were in 1900, 2,095-549 and in 1910, 2,620,857, we know that, in 1910, 156,235 (67,988 in 1900) did not earn wages but offered lodgings or took boarders, that 1,595,449 (1,330,692 in 1900) held positions in higher or lower forms of domestic service, an occupation whose characteristic is that it is unstandardized, i.e., one employe may earn high wages under excellent living and working conditions, while another is a drudge and a "slavey" under wretched conditions both for living and working.

In this same group of gainfully employed in domestic and personal service are found also the laundresses and waitresses. So far as these are employed under conditions of domestic employment,

[11] *Thirteenth Census, Occupations 1910*, p. 54. See discussion of probable error on this point.

they are again in occupations which can not be made the subject of general characterization. So far, however, as they include workers in power-laundries or in "down-town restaurants," they can be grouped for purposes of discussing their wages with the groups in trade and transportation and in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. In these groups, employing, in 1900, 1,816,015 and in 1910 2,974,447 women, the position of both men and women wage-earners (individual) is disadvantageous as compared with the employer. In many occupations in these groups a low degree of skill is required, the workers can not wait for employment, there is no way of their learning the state of the labor market, and in bargaining shrewdness the workers who make a bargain only between jobs are at a great disadvantage as compared with the employer's agent who bargains practically all his working life.

Moreover, women are often at a real disadvantage as compared with men. In the first place, it is admitted that they often do not bring the same degree of skill or occupational capacity. They wholly lack the physique for certain occupations, such as construction work or heavy teaming. By unanimous social judgment, their sex disqualifies them for work done under conditions of physical exposure, as in the underground mining, or of moral peril, as in saloons. There are few or no technical schools for them, and they are often from lower age groups and add immaturity to their other disadvantages. It appears, for example, that in 1910, 83 per cent of the gainfully employed males were over 21, and 17 per cent only under 21; while only 66 per cent of all the gainfully employed females were over 21, and 33 per cent were under that age. And in many occupations the relative proportion of women in the younger age groups is much larger than one-third. For example, 68 per cent of the female employes and only 20 per cent of the male employes among glove workers are under 21 years of age; among the candy workers, 68 per cent of the female and 24 per cent of the male; among the glass-workers, 57 per cent of the female and 24 per cent of the male; in soap factories, 56 per cent of the female and 24 per cent of the male; among the telephone and telegraph operators, 47 per cent of the female and 21 per cent of the male; among sales persons 33 per cent of the female and 17 per cent of the male employes are under 21 years of age, while even in coal mining and cotton manufacture—with glass, the great boy-employing industries—the figures are, in

coal, only 15 per cent of the males, and 253 out of the 890 females or 28 per cent of the females under 21 years of age, and in cotton, 48 per cent of the female and 30 (29.9) per cent of the male employes in these lower age groups. Obviously, the facts already stated demonstrate that women are at a disadvantage in the labor market as compared with men. Attention should be called also to the fact that industry and trade as organized under the alleged competitive system of the last century are wholly in the hands of men who often determine employment from considerations of propriety rather than of efficiency, deciding that certain forms of employment are unsuitable to women, so that women lack not only opportunity but inducement to qualify themselves better for highly skilled work. In 1900, while women were scheduled in 295 out of 303 occupations, 86 per cent of them were in only 18. In 1910, the number of occupations listed is a longer list (428 instead of 303), but 82 per cent of the gainfully employed women are found in only 19 of the occupations.[12] The ideals of a feudal state persist in shutting them out of the higher positions in the state, the church, the legal profession, and the positions of corresponding social prestige in big business. They lack, in addition, as compared with men, bargaining capacity and the bargaining habit, and the habit of acting together. Boys "swap" in the alley, while girls care for the baby; men meet each other in the saloon, at the political meeting, in the street; women and girl-workers do their own laundry, make their own clothes, trim their own hats,

[12] Table showing occupations in which there were one per cent or more of the gainfully employed women.

Name of occupants	*No. women engaged*	*Name of occupants*	*No. women engaged*
Farmers	257,706	Teachers	478,027
Farm laborers (home farm)	1,176,585	Teachers of Music	84,478
Dressmakers and seamstresses	447,760	Boarding and Lodging House Keepers	142,400
Millinery and Millinery Dealers	122,447	Housekeepers and Stewards	173,333
Textile	352,639	Laundresses	520,004
Weavers in textile industries	99,434	Midwives and Nurses (not trained)	117,117
Sewing and Sewing Mach. Oper. Factory	231,206	Servants and waitresses	1,309,549
Tailors and Tailoresses	163,795	Bookkeepers and Accountants	187,155
Telephone Operators	88,262	Clerks (not in stores)	122,665
Clerks in stores	111,594	Stenographers and Typewriters	263,315
Saleswomen	257,720	Total	6,707,191

Total gainfully employed, 8,075,772.

Per cent of total in 19 occupations, 81.8 per cent or 78.1 (if instead of 352,639 textile operatives 99,434 weavers in textile industries be taken).

help with the children, spend their non-working hours as drudges, or eking out their small earnings by their domestic accomplishments.

The first result on women-workers of the youth of so considerable a proportion of their group, of the domestic pressure on their leisure and of their consequent isolation, is the fixing of wages in the occupations into which they are admitted below any possible level of competent living. This does not mean that they supplement their wages by immoral practices, but that with all the industry with which they can use their non-working hours, they are still underclothed, under-housed, under-fed, without adequate provision for normal recreation, and unable to bear their proper share of the support of their natural dependents.

The second result is the payment of wages not so much unequal to the wages of men but different from the wages of men to an extent much greater than the difference between the economic value of their work and that of men employes. That is, the exploitation of women in these groups may be regarded as the exploitation of men raised at least to the second power. It is on that account that department store work, telephone service, the textile industry, cotton, wool, silk, candy-making, brush-making, corset-making, and many other trades employing a considerable number of women workers may be justly charged with the practice of a double exploitation.

If we look at the professional occupations, we find conditions somewhat different as to age and training. Of the women lawyers only 78 out of 1,343 or 5 per cent are under 21, of men, 452 out of 120,806 or .003 per cent are under 21, and of the 9,015 women physicians only 142 or 2 per cent are under 21, of 142,117 men only 312 or .002 per cent are under 21. Even of the teachers, only 79,032 out of 476,864 women teachers, 16.6 per cent, are under 21, and of 118,442 men teachers, 12,274 or 10.4 per cent are in this age group. But in these lines of activity, while women may obtain the training and are more mature, they too must face the fact that the opportunities they seek are controlled largely by men. If, as has been said, the men in control in industrial or in professional affairs were themselves dominated by industrial, economic or professional considerations, if they would and could give the opportunity to the person who under fair competitive conditions offered the best terms, women would have no complaint to make and would rely on industrial, economic or professional methods for their advancement; but the

reverse is the fact. One has only to compare the relative number of men and women graduates from our colleges bearing the approval of the Phi Beta Kappa Chapters with the relative number of fellowships granted to men and women students, or the relative numbers of candidates for the doctorate taking degrees with high rank with the numbers taken on to college faculties, to perceive something of the disadvantage under which women pursue scholarship.

At the one end of the scale of well-being is found then exploitation based on youth, lack of training, and helplessness; at the other, exclusion. Political equality is therefore invoked for several reasons, and in order to accomplish several results among which will be a gradual readjustment of the wage scale to correspond with the needs of rational living and with the payment of men.

For the more helpless group, the political enfranchisement of women inevitably means the introduction into legislation and governmental action of considerations with which women have been especially concerned. This influence must and will work itself out more conspicuously in connection with physicial conditions of work, the limitation of the working day, the prohibition of night work for young women, and the maintenance of sanitary and decent conditions of work. It will, however, inevitably likewise take notice of the significance of the wage below the level of competent and wholesome living and will attack the problem by setting a minimum wage, and also by raising the age of employment, regulating the conditions under which "learners" may be employed and paid, and, perhaps chiefly, by devoting some of the public money and public brains to the question of the industrial education of girls. In other words, it introduces into the situation influences to counteract those forces which at present render this group so peculiarly weak in their wage-bargains both as compared with their employers and with possible men competitors.

It is not claimed that many of these results may not be gained without the political enfranchisement of women, but they will be gained with much greater difficulty and will be on the whole less stable and final without than with the ballot. The state cannot, as a matter of mere psychology, get the best intelligence of its women devoted to these problems until that intelligence is quickened by a sense of full responsibility. But there are also far greater gains than these to be expected. In the case of the professional women, access

to political power alone opens up avenues of employment. Women in the civil service will seem more appropriate when the votes of women are of concern to the appointing power. The women appointed to the police force, the women appointed on the school board, the women put upon the garbage commission, the appointed head of the public welfare bureau, all in Chicago, testify unmistakably to the soundness of this statement. For women lawyers with the ballot there is a new respect shown by men. With the franchise arise legal problems peculiarly affecting women and making more obviously suitable the employment of women. If the votes of women doctors become of importance in connection with questions concerning the medical profession, there are new reasons for admitting them to programs of medical societies and thus new avenues are opened for legitimate professional publicity. Perhaps the situation confronting the members of the teaching profession is most clearly illustrative, because there has been so much foolish and inapplicable discussion of the femininization of the public schools, based wholly on the proportion of women to men in the teaching group. As a matter of fact there is no more masculine organization in the whole community than the public school system. Out of 824 superintendents in cities[13] having a population of 5,000 and over, only 6 or .007 per cent are women, of whom only one, the distinguished superintendent of the Chicago schools, receive as much as $2400 a year, while 363 or 44 per cent of men superintendents receive that amount or more. Of the high school principals in cities of 5,000 or over, only 72 out of 936 or less than 8 per cent are women, and of the women only 6, 8 per cent, receive as much as $2500 while of the 864 men principals 205 or 23 per cent receive that or a larger amount for their services. Among the high school assistant principals, 285 in number, only 93 or 33 per cent are women.

There are, to be sure, a number of women county superintendents of schools, and in a few cities women are found on the boards of education. On the whole, however, the schools are managed by men, generally with as great interest taken in the possibilities of political gain or private enrichment as in the educational requirements of the teachers and children. This has meant the inevitable over-emphasis on expenditures for buildings and grounds in which real estate

[13] See *Bulletin of United States Bureau of Education*, "Pecuniary Rewards of Teaching."

agents have influence and on choice of text books in which great publishing concerns have interest, and lack of attention to the due compensation and just treatment of the teachers. Any intelligent and honest scrutiny of the problems would inevitably bring about an equalization of the salaries between men and women which would probably be accomplished by the leveling up of the women's pay, both by a raising of the wage-level and by the promotion of a much larger proportion of women to such positions as principalships and to new supervising positions of various kinds. But, again, the great damage results not so much from corruption as from ignorance. The school is not only the great educational agency of the community; under our compulsory school laws, it has been forced to assume many functions as guardian and there should be developed, and would be, if the intelligence of the teachers and of the women had free play, coöperating agencies for which women are peculiarly qualified by nature and by experience, such as effective staffs of school visitors relating the home to the school, the school to the home and both to other resources available for the service of the children.

There would therefore result the opening up of many new lines of employment for which women are particularly fitted, which would relieve the congested condition of the teaching profession. Analagous results are to be expected from the enlightened scrutiny of other organizations. Women in law with political power back of them see in a new way the absurdity of handling many cases as they are handled today. The administration of criminal justice, the management of reform, correctional and penal institutions, the enforcement of pure food, sanitary and labor legislation require, if competently done, the employment of many women.

In these two ways, then, first, by getting in through social legislation under the minimum fixed by such unequal bargaining and thus reducing the possibility of exploitation of the weakest workers, and second, by opening new avenues of employment in public service, in social agencies, in professional relationships and thus relieving the congestion which has been so great a disadvantage to the women workers in the few lines open to them, the wage-bargainer who is too weak will be fairly protected, the fairly competent wage-bargainer will be given new bargaining advantage. The protection at the bottom brings about an enforced reasonableness in demand and an exclusion from supply of the group now utilized, not so much

because of their industrial or occupational capacity as because of their economic weakness—the children in the candy trade, the non-English speaking women in the sewing trades; the opening up of opportunities at the top is nothing more than a lessening of supply at the congested points to the great advantage of the residuum.

Attention may be called in this connection to the enactment of minimum wage legislation during the past two years. Not only have the industrial states of the East and Middle West, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin, each of which has a considerable body of protective legislation on its statute books, taken this further step in the protection of its women-workers, but the non-industrial western states, California, Colorado, Oregon, Utah and Washington, all of which are equal suffrage states, have thrown this protection about their women wage-earners.

Besides this aid from without, political equality brings a very real new spiritual power whose value should not be ignored. It removes an occasion for humiliation and gives a new self-confidence which is of great importance. One great difficulty in securing advancement for girls is that they acquiesce in the general judgment as to their inferiority. Young women who are most contemptuous regarding the ability of certain young men will still feel themselves disqualified in some mysterious way from entering the profession the young men have successfully entered. "It's good wages" (75 cents) "for a girl" is the reply when the girl-worker is asked why she does not get as much as the boy across the way (85 cents). Employers take girl-workers because they are more easily satisfied; "they don't ask for a raise." Women who never asked for the ballot, who never "felt the need of it," confess to a new sense of confidence and self-respect when they have had it bestowed on them and a new courage to urge upon their employer the real value of their services.

The rapidity with which these results will be brought about will, of course, vary greatly with the general intelligence of the community, both men and women, with the nature and organization of employments already open to women, with the alertness with which well-to-do women understand the situation and grasp the opportunity to coöperate consciously with the economic forces, and supplement them when necessary with legislation. For besides removing limitations from about the spirits of women with reference to their own capacity and from about the minds of men as to woman's real sphere, political

enfranchisement obviously places in the hands of women a labor saving device of great possibility.

It is a device with which they can accomplish no result they have not the brains to plan and the courage to undertake. As the sewing machine and the needle are alike useful only to those persons who see the finished garment in relation to the cloth, so the ballot as an instrument can only aid—it cannot serve as a substitute for the plan already formulated. Those who see clearly the end sought and who therefore desire urgently to possess the most efficient instrument are often prevented by their very eagerness from seeing the more remote but more far-reaching and really more important aspects of the claims of women to be admitted to full political equality, because of the important bearing of their political or their economic status.

THE MILITANT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

By Mary Winsor,

Chairman of the Pennsylvania Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and President of the Pennsylvania Limited Equal Suffrage League.

An estimate of the militant suffrage movement should be based, not on mere study of books, but on a first-hand acquaintance with the movement itself in England. In 1913 during part of July, August and October, and in 1914 from May 27 to July 14, I was in London investigating the woman suffrage movement in all its ramifications, marching in processions and pilgrimages, speaking in meetings both peaceful and militant, indoors and out of doors (the street is a grand place to study politics, especially in England), attending tax resistance auctions, escorting deputations to the House of Commons, witnessing the brutality of policemen and appearing in the police court to testify to what I saw, following Sylvia Pankhurst and East End working men and women to the House of Commons, accompanying Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to jail, hearing Miss Nellie Hall and Miss Grace Roe interrupt the course of their trial as a protest against an unjust system of justice, and interviewing and conversing with dozens of suffrage sympathizers and workers.

In this brief paper it would be time wasted to criticise the militant methods—violence, destruction of property, etc.—as these methods have already been denounced more than sufficiently by the newspapers. I shall put the case somewhat from the standpoint of the militant suffragettes themselves, trying to give some idea of the philosophy and ethical principles underlying the militant propaganda and, above all, with the hope of making clear to American readers some of the radical differences between English and American conditions.

The militants hold that they are at war with the British government, basing their right to rebel on the axioms that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. As our colonial ancestors felt that a decent regard for the opinions of mankind should impel those in a state of rebellion to declare their reasons, so the suffragettes

have repeatedly endeavored to set before the world the grievances for which they are suffering. The grounds for revolt may be classified, roughly, as follows: The miserable status of English women; the impossibility of obtaining attention for, much less redress of, their grievances by constitutional methods; the historic precedents established by the use of force by the British people whenever the progress of freedom has been blocked by the British government; the insincerity and brutality shown by the present Liberal government in dealing with the women's agitation as compared with the leniency shown to male political offenders both past and present; the determination of the newspapers to stifle the movement by persistently excluding suffrage news and propaganda from their columns. I cannot take up all these points in detail; for some I shall give a list of references to enable the reader to form his own judgment.

In the United States, though the great majority of women are still disfranchised and many of the unjust laws inherited from England continue to disfigure our statute books, the suffragists are absolutely peaceful. We owe this, not to American women, but to American men. In every country it is the men who should be held chiefly responsible for the tone and conduct of the suffrage movement, as the government is in their hands, authority and power are theirs, and they are able to make the task of the feminist comparatively easy and pleasant. Englishmen have chosen to make it very difficult. In England the militant movement is like a slave insurrection; it presents characteristics of the uprising of a servile class; the bitterness of those who have been treated unjustly, the determination of the down-trodden to rise and at all hazards to themselves to conquer respect and consideration for their sex; and the arming of the one part of the community—women—against the other part. If the word "slave," applied to contemporary English women seems an exaggeration, let me say that our colonial ancestors considered taxation without representation tyranny. When Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty or give me death," there were no fetters on his wrists, nor was he to be sold in the slave market. He merely referred to the fact that he was being taxed without his consent—a state of subjection so odious that death was preferable. Now, English women of today suffer not only from that grievance, but from many others. That the negro mother had no control of her child seemed to Abolitionists a potent argument for emancipation. Today the

English woman, if married, is not the legal parent of her child. The father is the parent and has the right to prescribe the child's education, religious training and medical attendance; he may take it away from the mother and may by will appoint a guardian without her consent. The position of a married woman is in many ways wretched: though her husband is supposed to support her, there is no legal machinery by which a woman can enforce this law; no husband is obliged to give his wife more than a bare maintenance, and may forbid her to pledge his credit; a man may disinherit his wife and leave her penniless with destitute children whom the law compels her to support. A life-time of unpaid service with possible destitution at the end is little better than slavery. The divorce laws are unequal, practically encouraging immorality on the part of the husband, as it is not a ground for securing a divorce from him unless coupled with cruelty or desertion. As for the industrial status of women, Miss Mary Macarthur, the secretary of the Women's Trades Union League, in giving evidence before the select committee on home work, estimated that the "average weekly wage of all women industrially employed, excepting only the most highly skilled, is 7 shillings a week." The government, as an employer, is one of the worst sweaters of women.

In America there is a spirit of justice and friendliness toward women, but in England the pressure to keep them down is fourfold, legal, political, industrial, social, and it might be added, religious. The militants do not think it strange that woman has rebelled, but that she has endured so long and so submissively. Perhaps heretofore the leaders and the inspiration were lacking. "Christabel" members of the W.S.P.U. have said to me with enthusiasm, "Christabel has given us a new ideal of womanhood." For centuries the feminine ideal has been semi-oriental. The world has thought that woman should purchase toleration for her existence and immunity from insult by making herself as inconspicuous as possible. The suffragettes have reacted from this silent, humble, patient Griselda type to the extreme. They have not only been audacious enough to practise the militant virtues reserved to adorn the brows of man, but as the head and front of their offending, have claimed the right to exercise these virtues for the benefit of their own sex. As long as women were content to take part in man's revolutions, got up by men for the benefit of men, no matter how violent, how incendiary,

how murderous the feminine participants, they were considered heroines and patriots. When, for the first time in history, a revolution is organized by women for the benefit of women, though they are not murderous, merely violent and incendiary, they are considered not heroines and patriots, but vandals and viragoes. This is probably due to the lack of positive standards that prevails everywhere in church and state with regard to the ethics of fighting. Only one class has the right to condemn the use of violence by women, the Society of Friends, who have always condemned it equally in men and in women. The Quakers have never canted about brute force being noble and patriotic when used by men and abominable when used by women, but have said flatly that it was uncivilized, unchristian and degrading in any case. A study of the historic militant methods used by Englishmen, and still more by Irishmen, when struggling for liberty, prompts the suffragettes to ask embarrassing questions, such as, if it was praiseworthy for English people to cut off the head of Charles I when he tried to act the tyrant, why is it damnable for Miss Annie Kenney to break a window? If Henry VIII, in freeing religion from Rome, laid waste beautiful monasteries, and Cromwell stabled his horses in cathedrals and his troopers, for conscience' sake, broke imagery and stained glass, wherein do they differ from women who burn a church hoping thereby to rebuke the apathy and indifference of the woman-supported church of England? If Irishmen, who incited to riot, arson, cattle driving and even manslaughter, were rewarded by gaining sympathy and assistance from Gladstone and the Liberal party, why are the women who, under great provocation, resort to much milder methods, treated like the worst of criminals and their just demands for the franchise waved aside?

Among the services the suffragists have rendered to society, not the least is that they have raised this question of the use of force, and compelled the world to face it from a new point of view. For the first time in history the male sex has been able, as it were, to get a long distance view of violence, to see how it looks when exercised by the opposite sex, with no chance of contributing to masculine vanity. Men have now seen a warfare in which all the courage, all the heroism has been shown by women, in which men have played the odious rôle of tyrant and oppressor. The suffragists have done much to establish a single standard of morals, and the international

peace movement will ultimately be strengthened by the searchlights they have turned on these questions, showing them all in a new and striking aspect.

The English Newspapers

One of the greatest obstacles which the suffrage movement has encountered is the stubborn opposition of the English newspapers. Before the advent of the militants, it is said that the press boycott was absolute. Mrs. Pankhurst and her adherents claim that some of their most sensational doings were necessary to break down this boycott, and have been successful, at least in compelling the newspapers to notice women and their demands and to publish news of the suffrage movement which they had heretofore ignored. However, the attitude of the press toward the cause still leaves much to be desired. I made a careful study of the leading London newspapers, including *The Times*, *The Telegraph*, *The Morning Post*, *The Standard*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Herald*, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, *The Westminster Gazette*, *The Globe*, *The Chronicle*, *The Daily Graphic*, *The Daily Sphere*, *The Evening News*, and others. My method was to go to all the important suffrage meetings and compare the reports in these newspapers with my own observations as an eye witness, and also with the four weekly suffrage papers, *The Suffragette* (militant), *Votes for Women*, *The Vote* (mildly militant) and the *Common Cause* (Constitutional). The conclusions I came to may be summed up as follows:

Our American newspapers are far in advance of the London press in reporting the activities of women, their clubs, organizations, etc., including the woman suffrage movement. As far as the latter is concerned, English journalism does not seem to comprehend that it is world-wide, that millions of men and women are engaged in it and that its success is assured and may be near at hand. This inability to grasp the significance and extent of the woman suffrage movement is due to British insularity and to the deep rooted English habit of regarding women as inferior and subordinate beings whose activities are not important or of interest to the public. The English newspapers are essentially men's newspapers, got up by men for men, and largely devoted to party politics. The space given to women's affairs is meagre, and the general tone toward women is

hasty and contemptuous, or else of a deliberate and unctuous silliness, in short, the kind of thing one might expect to find in the local organ of a country town. None, with the honorable exception of Mr. George Lansbury's *The Herald*, is the advocate and champion of the cause. Some are lukewarm, the majority hostile, and their hostility is shown in the following ways: suppression and ignoring of important events; great meetings addressed by eminent speakers are briefly alluded to or passed over in silence; an exaggerated emphasis is laid on militancy, ignoring the work of the peaceful suffragists and the vast constitutional propaganda of the militants themselves; when acts of violence are reported an entire silence is kept as to the grievances from which women are suffering, so that the reading public is left in the dark as to the causes inciting to these acts of violence and must look on them as mere senseless outbursts of feminine deviltry; facts are distorted and misrepresented in a way that I can only call deliberate. I noticed this with regard to the cruelty shown by the government in dealing with suffragette prisoners and by the police in making arrests. I interviewed three women, one an American, who were members of the deputation to the King and took down explicit and detailed accounts of the brutality, sometimes indecent, they had experienced at the hands of the police. Very little of this had been published by the newspapers. On the contrary, they described the women as attacking the police. Another subject much misrepresented is the supposed hostility of the public to the suffragist. In England a certain degree of importance is attached to the opinion of the "man in the street," and in a country where there is no initiative or referendum the behavior of the audiences at great political meetings affords an approximate estimate of popular opinion. If journalistic enterprise can make it appear that the "man in the street" is opposed to woman suffrage to such an extent that it is dangerous for suffragists of any kind to advocate their principles in public, not only is an important point scored against woman suffrage, but suffragists may be terrified into silence with all submission. To kill these two birds with one stone, editors have been willing to go to great lengths; some of them seem inspired by the hope of inciting the mob to use lynch law on women. Indeed, though it is incredible that the journalism of a civilized people should sink so low, some, not content with mere suggestions, have recommended this in plain words. Wish-

ing to test the truth of these reiterated assertions about the popular antagonism to suffragists, I spoke at various open air meetings and attended others as a witness. It is the general belief among all classes of suffragists (and my own experiences sustain this belief) that whenever suffrage meetings are broken up, it is done by a band of hooligans, always the same band, who are organized for that purpose. There are grounds to think that they are subsidized. Until these ruffians appear on the scene, the crowd, though sometimes noisy (as English audiences are apt to be), is, on the whole, interested and friendly.

Not even the extreme violence to which the suffragettes have gone is bad enough to justify the continued refusal of the vote. At least, I think this must be the opinion of the newspapers, for they seldom report even this kind of violence as it happened, but embroider on it. Take the case of Miss Ivy Bonn, who, on June 3, destroyed two valuable paintings in the Doré Galleries in Bond Street. According to some of the newspapers, she turned on the manager of the gallery and "rained blows on him with a hatchet." Of course, this is nonsense, for if she rained blows on a man with a hatchet, in a jiffy he would have been reduced to mince meat and she would have been tried for manslaughter. Moreover, it is contrary to the well-known policy of the W.S.P.U. to attack human life. This absurd and damaging fable appeared in many of the London papers and found its way into some of our own, so that Miss Ivy Bonn's name in two countries is now connected with an attempt to kill. She personally gave me her word of honor that she never raised a finger against the manager of the gallery, and that no one was hurt except herself. I cull out this incident from among a store of similar cases of misrepresentation with which the columns of the English press fairly swarm.

Volumes could be devoted to the short-comings of English journalism towards the feminist movement which has been hampered not so much by the doings of the suffragettes but by the stupid and unscrupulous manner in which the whole movement has been treated by the English newspapers.

Although the granting of the vote in America is delayed by the slow and cumbersome process of amending our constitutions, state or federal, still we are fortunate in the lack of sex antagonism and

in the sympathy and assistance of American men which have done so much to promote our cause. I would advise Americans who are not familiar with English conditions to suspend harsh judgments until they have had a chance to investigate on English soil the English movement and its peculiar difficulties. In default of such an opportunity, I recommend the following books and pamphlets which cover points that I have not had time to take up in detail in this paper:

The Suffragette, E. Sylvia Pankhurst. London: Gay & Hancock, Limited, Henriette Street, Covert Garden.

Women's Fight for the Vote, Frederick W. Pethick Lawrence. London: The Woman's Press, 156 Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Way Stations, Elizabeth Robins. London, New York and Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Own Story. New York: Hearst's International Library Company.

Prisons and Prisoners, Lady Constance Lytton.

Women: And the Unfair Position which They Occupy at the Present Time, J. W. F. Jacques. London: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14 Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

The Duty of Tax Resistance, Laurence Housman. London: The Women's Tax Resistance League, 98 St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

The Legal Position of Englishwomen. London: The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Some Points of English Law Affecting Working Women as Wives and Mothers, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A. London: Obtained from Women's Coöperative Guild, 28 Church Row, Hampstead, N.W.

Annual Report of the Women's Social and Political Union, Year Ending February 28, 1914. London: The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Unfulfilled Pledges, Our Case against Mr. Asquith. London: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14 Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

Custodia Honesta, Treatment of Political Prisoners in Great Britain, Prof. George Sigerson, M.D., etc. London: The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Militant Methods in History, Joseph Clayton. London: The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

What Forcible Feeding Means. London: The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

A Brief Review of the Women's Suffrage Movement since its Beginning in 1832.

Treatment of the Women's Deputations of November 18, 22 and 23, 1910, by the Police. London: The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

The Life of Emily Davison, G. Colmore. London: The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

The Women's Charter of Rights and Liberties, Lady McLaren. London: Grant Richards, 7 Carlton Street, S.W.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

By Ella Seass Stewart,

Ex-President, Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and former Secretary of National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The equal suffrage movement has suffered from involuntary entanglement with contemporary reforms. In vain has it pleaded to be judged on its own merits. It has had to carry not only its own impedimenta but the prejudices and antagonisms belonging to other reforms. This condition is inevitable for the reason that suffrage is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It is a force which will necessarily have reactions upon many public questions. So those who are vitally interested in these questions calculate the probable effect of the woman's vote upon them and allegiance or antagonism to woman suffrage depends more upon the result of such calculations than upon the abstract phases of justice and right.

The easiest form of argument is the prophetic. Woman suffrage will do this and bring that—either chaos or the millennium, according to the principles or prejudices of the prophet. The largest volume of prophecy respecting this proposed innovation has been on the effect of woman suffrage upon the liquor traffic. Many consider the temperance and woman suffrage movements as practically identical. Perhaps this connection started in the earliest years of the woman's rights movement when the battle for a woman's right to speak in public and to exercise all the rights of a delegate in deliberative assemblies was fought out upon the anti-slavery and the temperance society platforms. It was in a national temperance convention that Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell held her own for hours while the male delegates stormily proceeded through howls, jeers, and unseemly epithets to a favorable vote on her right to speak. Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mary A. Livermore and others of the pioneer suffragists divided their early activities among the woman's rights, the abolition, and the temperance movements. There is evidence, however, that those contemporary movements felt the embarrassment of woman's public support and there were those who preferred that these good causes should fail without

woman's help rather than win with it. They were reluctant to receive women members into full fellowship.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized a quarter of a century after the first woman's rights convention and was silent on the suffrage question for a number of years. Then Miss Anthony converted Miss Willard to suffrage, and she immediately grasped the idea of the expediency of the woman's ballot as a necessary "weapon for home protection." She carried through the next national convention an endorsement which the W. C. T. U. has steadily maintained, exerting a great educational influence in many states and nations.

But long before temperance organizations had seen the potentialities of the woman vote, the saloon men were fearing woman's governmental power. The first campaign to secure enlarged political power for woman was contested by the liquor forces and the last one will be.

The suffrage associations have studiously kept aloof from temperance organization endorsements. They have held that the suffrage question should be decided upon its own merits. They have been willing to receive into membership those persons who believe in woman's right to the ballot, irrespective of their views on any other question. They have claimed for each woman citizen the right to exercise her vote according to her own judgment. In the first suffrage campaigns the hostility of the saloons was less openly displayed and the suffrage leaders tried to walk softly around the sleeping lions. The public aid of known temperance sympathizers was frequently discouraged for fear the suffrage amendment might be compromised. But during the past few years the gauntlet has so repeatedly been thrown down by these forces that the suffragists now know the futility of hoping to gain either the support or the cessation of hostilities of those who profit in any financial or political manner from the liquor traffic. The atmosphere has been cleared and the lines drawn. We now know that the center and strength of the anti-woman suffrage army are the liquor traffic and its vicious allies.

The organs of "the trade" devote regularly a considerable portion of their space to anti-suffrage editorials, framed scare-head posters, scurrilous articles, poems and cartoons. These are the only anti-suffrage papers whose opposition remains on the low planes of

coarse abuse which characterized many more respectable journals in the forties and fifties.

The organ of the Wisconsin Retail Liquor Dealers Association, *Progress*, congratulating itself on its part in the defeat of the equal suffrage amendment in Wisconsin in 1912, says half apologetically:

> During the recent campaign, *Progress* has been accused of using offensive methods in its warfare. It should be understood that what *Progress* did was for the benefit of its trade—it was educational—nothing more. A few "high-brow journalists" and a "knocker" tried to put *Progress* in a bad light. But the vote on suffrage in Wisconsin tells the story, and it also tells of the influence of *Progress*.

The Wisconsin suffragists arose from this defeat, brought about through all unhallowed means, and appeared promptly the following January at the legislature asking re-submission of this question. They secured a favorable vote in spite of the activity of the liquor lobby. Then Governor McGovern vetoed the bill.

At a public hearing on this bill the lobby of the "German-American Alliance" was represented by Mr. Robert Wild and Mr. Flanders of Milwaukee. *The Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison) edited by Richard Lloyd Jones, on March 23, 1913, says editorially that "by a slip of the tongue," when he meant to say 90,000 votes, Mr. Flanders came dangerously near the truth when he said that equal suffrage was defeated in Wisconsin by $90,000.

Evidence is available that enormous sums of money are collected and spent by "the trade" to defeat suffrage bills and amendments. "Woman suffrage means prohibition" is the slogan of these prophets of fear. In all the recent campaigns the cities have been placarded with the sentiment "A vote for woman suffrage is a vote for prohibition" but in the "dry" rural districts quantities of leaflets are circulated urging farmers to vote against suffrage because of the failure of women to abolish saloons in the suffrage states.

After the defeat of the suffrage amendment in Michigan in the spring of 1913 the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association issued a statement in which they declared that:

> Every "wet" newspaper in the state opposed equal suffrage. Every "wet" politician opposed equal suffrage. Every saloon and liquor dealers' organization opposed equal suffrage. Every brewer and liquor dealer in the state opposed equal suffrage. The suffragists of Michigan have never made the question a "wet and dry" issue, but the wets have made suffrage an issue and we know that no one factor could have defeated us except the liquor forces.

This analysis was backed up by editorial comment of many leading Michigan papers. *The Detroit Journal* said:

> The fight was made throughout the state by the liquor interests. They are the only opponents of suffrage who have any object in making an intense campaign. They made it an intense and thorough campaign.

The Lansing State Journal said:

> Another reason for the defeat of suffrage may be found in the fight which the liquor interests made against it. With unlimited means at their command, they flooded Michigan with misleading literature and under the cloak of the anti-suffrage association, composed of well-known Michigan citizens, worked deadly harm.

The Kalamazoo Gazette said:

> Last fall local liquor dealers vigorously denied any connection with the fight against the women, but this spring they all but openly boasted of it. There is no doubt but that thousands of dollars were sent into the state by outside liquor organizations and it was this "barrel of slush" that, more than any other one thing, encompassed the undoing of the suffragists of Michigan and sent them down to bitter defeat.

The Port Huron Times-Herald said:

> There is no denying the fact that the liquor interests took a prominent part in the defeat of suffrage. The saloon men saw state wide prohibition staring them in the face if the suffrage movement was successful in Michigan. They worked openly against it and contributed largely to its defeat.

The opposition of the liquor forces is not gauged by the number of women actively engaged in temperance work. That number is still comparatively small. It takes no comfort from the fact that suffrage associations are non-partisan on all questions except suffrage. It would fear and fight off the enfranchisement of women if every temperance organization were to disband today. Therein it unconsciously pays its high tribute to womanhood and confesses its own lack of moral defense. Perhaps needless space has been taken to prove a condition so well known today as to need no citations. The forces of evil fear women's vote.

There are other men who prophesy an end to the saloon after the citizen mothers have a chance to meet it with equal weapons. They are the men who are perplexed by their own mistakes in government; men who distrust their own strength; men who reverence and believe in the nobility of women and who believe that the un-

tapped reservoirs of woman's political ideals and energies contain vast redemptive forces. All such prophets of hope might here be allowed to speak through the mediumship of Jack London, who "rode down the valley of the moon all a-jingle" and voted for the equal suffrage of California women.

> I voted that women might vote because I knew that they, the wives and mothers of the race, would vote John Barleycorn out of existence and back into the historical limbo of our vanished customs of savagery. The women are the true conservators of the race. Men are the wastrels, the adventure lovers and gamblers, and in the end it is by their women that they are saved. The women know. They have paid an incalculable price of sweat and tears for man's use of alcohol. Ever zealous for the race, they will legislate for babes of boys yet to be born.

Now what have the women in the suffrage states and countries done to justify the fears of the enemy and the faith of the idealists? Does woman suffrage mean prohibition? A casual review of the actual accomplishments in legislation against the saloon might seem to give little comfort to reformers, while at the same time their tendencies are ominous enough to keep the liquor hosts in hot water. Strangely enough, women have moved more cautiously as to any radical or advanced legislation on this question than in a score of other achievements in new social legislation.

There are several good reasons for this, as the student of the question will find. First, equal suffrage was granted in new countries where women are still greatly in the minority, where customs and habits were more fluid, less established and reflected the androcentric ideals of the mining camp. With the gallantry and sense of a square deal which distinguish the best of primitive civilization, the western men gave women the ballot, and have coöperated with them in securing a mass of needed social legislation. But there has been a natural tendency for them to hold on, by sheer power of numbers, to institutions peculiarly masculine, to the domination of the parties and offices. With a commendable common sense, these enfranchised women chose the line of least resistance and have spent these years of their novitiate in perfecting the educational system, working out new schemes of correction and charity, safeguarding public health and coping with civic problems. They have thus made a record which will be a splendid background for more vital reform work.

Another fact should be remembered and that is that the saloon problem is not so easy of solution as the question of punishment for juvenile offenders, or the pure food law. The enemies of the saloon are of many minds as to how its evils can be eradicated or reduced to a minimum. They split upon methods. So with the prevailing uncertainty and confusion among conscientious anti-saloon workers it is not surprising that a minority sex in a man-made state should register somewhat of that indecision. But the testimony of reliable people in the western states is to the effect that the efforts to curb saloon power have been put forth largely by women and that here as everywhere the majority of women are against the saloon.

Colorado, California, Oregon and Washington are now in the midst of campaigns for state-wide prohibition and the work of securing the signatures for the referendum is credited largely to women. In Washington this movement has secured the endorsement of the State Federation of Women's Clubs representing 10,000 women, the Mothers' Congress, the Parent Teachers' Association, and the Washington Woman's Legislative League. Wyoming has passed a law prohibiting saloons outside incorporated towns, which automatically made ninety per cent of the area of the state no-license. In 1913 five of the cities excluded saloons by action of the city councils. They have enacted a stringent Sunday closing law. Idaho and Utah have been using the local option law as blotters. Idaho has twenty-one of her thirty-three counties dry, and only about 195 saloons. In the last local option election in Utah, 82 out of 110 cities voting went dry. Sixteen of the wet towns are mining camps. Both these states are preparing for prohibition amendment campaigns in 1915.

Hon. Edward Taylor of Colorado in an address in Congress made the statement that when women were given the vote in Colorado there were only three no-license towns. Fifty-four per cent of the population of Colorado now live in dry territory. Doubtless this number would have been increased during the years if women had remained unenfranchised, but their direct influence has been more effective. In California, Oregon and Washington recent elections have registered sweeping no-license victories. In Washington two dry towns became wet, one by three votes, while 160 wet towns changed to dry and three counties became entirely dry.

In other suffrage countries about the same record has been made. The New Zealand women have undoubtedly worked harder

to secure prohibition than the women of other countries, and the last three elections have shown great advances in the vote against the license system. However, three-fifths of all the votes cast are necessary to carry the measure. This makes it a difficult task. Here, also, women are in the minority, yet if all women had voted favorably it might have been carried. Prohibition in Iceland followed too closely upon the victory for woman suffrage to claim any considerable credit for women. The same might be said of Finland where a prohibition measure passed the first session of the Finnish Diet. Women were members of that body and a woman member introduced the same measure in the second Diet but neither time has it secured the approval of the Czar.

The most notable records of women's opinions on the saloon question have been registered in Illinois. There are reasons why this record is most indicative of women's ultimate decision upon this question. In the first place, Illinois is the oldest, the most populous, and the most eastern of all the suffrage states. Men and women are more nearly equal in numbers. Ideals and moral standards are more developed, more conventional, than in the newer states. There have been years of education on all phases of the saloon problem. Again, the organizations of women are large, well trained and they coöperate with one another. The Illinois women have a limited suffrage and because they cannot vote for all officials of any election, separate ballots and ballot-boxes become necessary. Therefore, for statistical purposes, these elections will take precedence over more important ones in other states.

The surprising results of the first elections in Illinois become all the more remarkable when one considers that the Illinois suffrage victory was the result of the active work of comparatively few women during those years in which it was being promoted. In the nine states where constitutions have been amended it was the educational work of the majority of women which encouraged the majority of men to grant equal suffrage. The women who worked were naturally keen to use the vote. In Illinois masses of women scarcely knew of the efforts of the lobbyists and organizers who were securing a legislative victory. Thousands of them had not contributed a dollar, organized a meeting or written a letter to secure their suffrage. Would they use it now that it had been dropped into their laps? That was the question the whole state was asking.

No more fortunate thing could have happened than that the first elections under this new law, which had come so easy, should have been on what appealed to women as a moral issue. The suffrage law went into effect July 1, 1913. During that month a number of special elections had been called in scattering precincts throughout the state. On July 22 two small cities, Carpenterville and Benton, voted on the licensing of saloons. Although the time was short the towns were thoroughly organized and in Benton more women voted than men, four hundred and nineteen voting dry and fourteen wet.

Three important local option elections have been held since Illinois women were enfranchised. On November 4, 1913, sixteen counties in the southern part of the state voted. On April 7 the townships in the eighty-five counties which are under township organization held their elections and the city elections followed on April 21. As a result of these elections nearly 1,200 saloons were voted out of 260 townships, and twenty-two counties were made entirely dry. This brings the total number of dry counties up to fifty-two in the state. In not a single precinct did territory previously dry change its policy. The result would have been different in over a hundred townships if the women's vote had been thrown out. Over sixty-five per cent of the women voting at these elections recorded their votes against the saloon.

The defeated liquor men instituted suits in many of these counties to have the women's vote declared unconstitutional. These cases were lost in every county court. An appeal to the supreme court of the state resulted in a decision handed down June 13, 1914, upholding the constitutionality of the suffrage law. In about a dozen precincts in these elections in Illinois a majority of women voted for saloons. Springfield, Quincy, Galena, Savanna and Joliet were the only cities making this unenviable record.

In Jacksonville thirty-six hundred of the four thousand eligible women voted. This is a conservative city where both suffrage and temperance organizations had always been small. Of the thirty-six hundred women voting only six hundred and fifty-four voted for the saloon. In Galesburg, 90 per cent of the women's vote was dry and many of the smaller towns crowded close to the record of Atlanta, which registered 96 per cent dry. In Virginia, a county seat town, not a single woman's vote was cast for the saloon. The government's internal revenue on special spirit tax has been reduced $15,000 since these elections.

The striking feature of these first elections was the character of the women who led in the preliminary work. Most of them were club leaders and prominent local women, few of whom had been enrolled in either suffrage or temperance organizations. But finding themselves possessed of the ballot, and responding to the civic responsibility of making their towns safer and cleaner, they threw themselves into the work of educating the masses of women in election technique and in organizing to secure the largest possible vote of the women. This experience has extended the bounds of their character so that never again can they be indifferent to these two reforms. This spiritual quickening has been the most important phase of the Illinois suffrage victory.

Two other events which have taken place in Illinois since suffrage was granted might be recorded as the truest measure of woman's mind on the liquor question. Their significance is greater than the effects of the woman vote on temperance in the suffrage states up to the present time. I refer to the almost unanimous endorsement of prohibition by the Illinois and the General Federations of Women's Clubs. Never before had such a proposition been made. Temperance has been more tabooed in club circles than suffrage. But when the 563 delegates at the Illinois federation convention heard the resolution read that,

> WHEREAS, the public saloon is the cause of much sin and want among our people, and
>
> WHEREAS, the state legislature has placed within our hands the means by which we can better conditions in this state,
>
> *Be it Resolved*, That the delegates of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs place ourselves on record as opposed to the traffic in intoxicating beverages and urge their sisters of the state to use every possible opportunity at the ballot boxes to add Illinois to the list of dry states.

the resentment which seemed to have been smouldering in every woman's breast against this racial enemy burst into flame and only five women had the spirit to stand against the motion!

Again in June, 1914, the greatest convention of seated delegates that Chicago has ever entertained, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, reached the summit of the mount of vision and declared for their own freedom. At once they began to see great duties in a new light and their official resolutions registered the high water mark of public conscience toward social ills.

Without one dissenting voice they declared that:

Since the liquor traffic is responsible for three-fourths of the crime, vice and misery in this country,

Be it Resolved, That the women of the General Federation place themselves on record as opposed to the liquor traffic and in favor of such federal or state laws as will tend to eradicate this evil.

Thus has the most important organization of American women worked back through the labyrinthian paths of vital statistics, records of hospital wards and insane asylums, epileptic colonies, criminal statistics, degeneracy, the social evil, poverty—back to the Minotaur at the center, who has controlled these pitiful trails of woe for the sons and daughters of the race.

Well may the liquor traffic fear the enfranchised woman when she has learned her power.

THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IN PENNSYLVANIA

By Jennie Bradley Roessing,

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Woman suffrage is one of the modern developments of justice which is being secured so rapidly all over the world that many people still err in thinking of it as a comparatively young ideal. In Pennsylvania, Hannah Penn initiated the movement when she served the colony as its proprietary ruler for nine years after the death of her husband, William, in 1718. The struggles of pioneer days, absorption in Indian and other wars, the determining of the large outlines of the democratic form of government, put the woman suffrage question into the background until the Civil War had finally settled the destiny of the states and the solidity of the Union was achieved. Though the first woman's rights convention was held in 1848, the movement was not widely launched until some years later. The first organized gathering of suffragists in Pennsylvania was held in Philadelphia in 1869. Philadelphia, being largely Quaker, the new reform took root there as an anti-slavery adjunct, the same people being interested in both movements. At this first meeting which became the state's first woman suffrage convention, the state body, the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, was organized; Miss Mary Grew was elected president and among the other officers were such noted women as Mrs. Charlotte L. Peirce, vice-president, Mrs. Gudelius Jones, treasurer, and Miss Annie Heacock, secretary. Mr. John R. Wildman was second vice-president. Lucretia Mott, Eliza Sproat Turner, Sarah C. F. Hallowell, Mrs. Mercy Williamson were other pioneer workers. The object of the organization was "to secure for women the exercise of the right of suffrage and to effect such changes in the laws as shall recognize the equal rights of women with men." There has been no deviation from this purpose throughout the years. The constitution was revised to meet new conditions in 1913, but the only change made in this article was to condense it into one phrase, "to secure woman suffrage."

From the beginning the Pennsylvania suffrage movement has been conducted along educational lines. In the earlier years this

educational work consisted largely in holding meetings, writing newspaper and magazine articles, distributing literature. Annual state conventions were held in different cities, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Easton, West Chester, Reading, Pittsburgh, Lewistown, Oxford, Norristown, Newtown, Kenneth Square, Harrisburg being among the places so visited. Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg of Philadelphia was state president from 1894 to 1908 and was followed by Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery who served two years. In 1910 Mrs. Avery moved out of the state and Mrs. Ellen H. E. Price became president, serving two years also. Until 1910 the only headquarters were the homes of the officers and there were no salaried workers, but the work had grown so heavy that in the autumn of that year the first state headquarters were opened in an office building in Philadelphia with a secretary in charge. In 1912 the state officers were moved to Harrisburg in order to concentrate upon the legislature and will remain in the capital until the end of the campaign, being also more centrally located as a basis of operations for the work radiating over the state. In addition to these state headquarters, ten cities now have local headquarters, all working in close coöperation with the state centre. By the summer of 1915, it is planned to have at least thirty of these local headquarters advantageously distributed over the extensive territory of the state.

Nine states of the Union and Alaska have fully enfranchised their women, in twenty-one more states women have partial suffrage, but in Pennsylvania women are totally disfranchised, not even voting on school matters. As in all the other states, so in Pennsylvania woman suffrage can be secured only through an amendment to the constitution. A resolution providing for the submission of such an amendment must pass two successive sessions of the state legislature by a majority vote in both houses, and be ratified by a majority of those voting on the question at the following general election. Suffrage work in our state was therefore of a passive nature until such legislative action could be secured. The first attempt to get the resolution through the legislature was made in 1911. There was a hearing before the members of the senate and house at Harrisburg on March 14, 1911, but no legislative action was secured. The resolution was referred to a commission to revise and codify the election laws of Pennsylvania, which commission had been appointed by the legislature. This commission granted a hearing on the reso-

lution in Philadelphia on March 22, 1912, the only result of which was a statement in the official report which this commission made to the legislature of 1913, that the question of woman suffrage was not germain to the business of the commission, and consequently no recommendation by the commission was made. In January, 1913, the resolution was again introduced in the legislature, passed in the house of representatives by a vote of 131 to 70, and after a long, close contest in the senate by a vote of 26 to 22. It has been said that it was the most bitterly fought successful bill of many legislative years. In the senate, it was twice saved from defeat by the deciding vote of the lieutenant-governor, it being the first time in thirteen years that the presiding officer had been called upon to vote.

The history of the work is thus divided into two spans,—the passive or generalized period from 1869 to 1913, and the active or political campaign from 1913 to November, 1915. Immediately following the legislative victory of April, 1913, plans for the present campaign were outlined. It was reiterated that it would be continued as an educational campaign, using all the modern educational methods and opportunities. For a time the activities of the English militants were so widely and so almost exclusively heralded in all the newspapers in this country that the public began to think that militancy would soon become the method of the American advocates. To make our position clear, the state executive committee early in 1913 issued a statement committing the Pennsylvania association to the continuance of its "educational methods in keeping with the dignity of the movement and the character of the women engaged in it."

The direction of the campaign is under the state association which consists of the local organizations formed throughout the sixty-seven counties of the state. All details are decided by the state executive committee, comprised of the eleven state officers and chairmen of the standing committees. The local groups are organized as clubs, leagues, societies or branches of the woman suffrage party, all being affiliated with the state body. Because of its effectiveness for campaign purposes, the party form of organization is that most advocated now. It is organized by political districts, but the general propaganda it conducts is identical with that of other groups. Under the state chairman, the state is arbitrarily divided

into nine divisions of seven or eight counties each with a "division chairman" for each of the nine sections. Under these division chairmen, there is a county chairman in each county and under her a legislative district leader for each legislative district in the county. The legislative district is again subdivided with leaders and officers for each part—city, borough or township chairmen, ward and precinct captains. House to house canvassing is done and the opinions of all adults registered, resulting in a poll of the voters of each election district. Men have always been staunch supporters of the suffrage movement, all the regular organizations having many men members. To emphasize their determination and to assist specially with legislative work, men's leagues for woman suffrage have been formed in a number of cities, Philadelphia, Lansdowne and Pittsburgh having the largest leagues.

One effort of the suffragists has been to secure action within the men's various political parties. Probably the most convincing proof of the growth of the sentiment for equal suffrage in Pennsylvania has been the change of attitude on the part of these parties. For many years the Prohibition and Socialist were the only platforms in which the issue was even mentioned. Today every party in the state has a plank in its platform advocating the passage of our bill by the next legislature, and four of the five platforms contain also a strong endorsement of woman suffrage itself. It is interesting to note that although the National Democratic party has done nothing to forward federal action on woman suffrage, and is in effect opposed to the movement, our state Democratic party helped to secure the passage of our bill in 1913, and the plank in its platform unequivocally endorses votes for women. These successes are due chiefly to the work of the woman suffrage party organizations which at the appropriate time brought constituency pressure to bear by informing and reminding the various parties' county committeemen and candidates of the wishes of the people at home.

Since the suffrage resolution must be passed again by the legislature of 1915, another piece of practical campaign work was to see that candidates for this next legislature were in favor of and would vote for our bill. As many candidates as possible were interviewed in person or by letter by a committee from the suffrage organization in their district. In some counties, every candidate on every ticket was pledged. The United States senatorial and gubernatorial can-

didates were likewise asked to announce their positions. All did so favorably, except one gubernatorial candidate in the Democratic party. After giving this candidate every possible opportunity, the suffragists opposed him at the spring primaries and his defeat left us with all the gubernatorial candidates in favor of woman suffrage.

The detailed methods of the campaign are embodied in its five departments of organization, finance, publicity, literature, and speakers bureau. In addition to the officers who are constantly active there are six field organizers.

From the publicity department the press chairman sends weekly bulletins to newspapers in every county, prepares advance notices for meetings and events in unorganized communities and attends to the general campaign publicity features. Eight special suffrage editions of daily newspapers have been issued in various cities and similar editions are planned for other towns during the remainder of the campaign.

The literature department serves to supply local organizations and individuals and has become a well established business, purchasing over $3,000 worth of literature and supplies in nine months in 1914. All general suffrage publications are kept in stock and leaflets applying especially to Pennsylvania are being printed. Among the latter are *Women under Pennsylvania Laws*, giving the legal discriminations against women in this state, *The Status of Woman Suffrage in Pennsylvania* and *Opinions of Prominent Pennsylvania Catholic Clergy*, the titles of which are self-explanatory. In great demand also are the novelties and supplies—votes for women fans, buttons, paper napkins, pennants, note-paper, drinking cups, lanterns, flowers, lead pencils, candy, children's toys. Three workers are kept busy filling orders in this department which occupies two rooms.

The speakers bureau serves as a non-profit making agency to bring the best speakers in the country into Pennsylvania, endeavoring to supply each locality with the speaker best suited to it and to distribute the famous speakers fairly over the state. Among those for whom tours have been or are being arranged are Jessie Ackerman, Sophonisba Breckinridge, Horace Bridges, Margaret Foley, Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale, Clara S. Laddey, Rabbi J. Leonard Levy, Scott Nearing, Senator Helen Ring Robinson, Dr. Anna H. Shaw, Anna Garland Spencer, Mary Church Terrell, Charles Zueblin.

In the closing period of all campaigns, open air meetings become

necessary and popular. At these a group of workers take charge, one speaking more often from an automobile than from the historic soap box, others passing collection baskets and asking adherents to join by signing a membership card. Without an exception these meetings in Pennsylvania have been dignified and orderly, the crowds being uniformly respectful. Booths at county fairs are another form of summer activity. From these decorated stands, speeches are made, literature distributed and propaganda conducted appropriate to such occasions.

A prize suffrage poster contest was held in 1913, the award of $25 going to a young Philadelphia artist, Miss Iva Ritter. Suffrage plays by amateurs and moving picture films are also part of the educational work. Prizes for the best school essays have been given; debates have been held; organizations of all kinds addressed. The Pennsylvania State Grange (properly called the Patrons of Husbandry), the Pennsylvania Farmers Alliance, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, the State Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, the Eastern Pennsylvania Methodist Conference have all passed strong suffrage resolutions. We have also been benefited by the endorsement of such important national bodies as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Education Association, and it is fully expected that the Pennsylvania branches of these bodies at their next state meetings will confirm these endorsements. More people have endorsed woman suffrage than have ever endorsed any one other public movement.

The funds for the campaign are raised chiefly by public subscription. Most of the organizations are non-dues paying and in all cases the dues are small, ranging from 25 cents to a dollar. Other incomes from sales of literature, collections at meetings, etc., are also comparatively small. Until the outbreak of the European war, the treasury was well supported, but that calamity has greatly decreased contributions. The special efforts which women are making in this period of stress are characteristic of their deep earnestness. One woman who lives on a farm is making cottage cheese which she sells in a neighboring town and by which she is giving $50 this year. At 10 cents a quart, this contribution means five hundred quarts patiently, quietly, constantly churned, sold and delivered. A $25 contribution comes as the result of giving up a new winter suit.

The hundreds of small contributions represent many sacrifices and are the foundation of the one $5,000 contribution from a Pennsylvania woman who wishes to be an anonymous donor.

Co-existent with their state work, Pennsylvania suffragists have always assisted with the national movement through the affiliation of the state association with the National American Woman Suffrage Association to the support of which $1,000 was contributed in 1914 and $500 additional paid for dues. The state congressional committee works in coöperation with the national congressional committee and consists of one member from each of the thirty-two congressional districts in the state. One of the most brilliant national suffrage conventions ever held met in Philadelphia in 1912 as the guest of the Pennsylvania state association.

As an organization, the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, like the national association, is absolutely non-partisan. By action of the state executive committee no state officer is permitted to become affilliated with any political party. Individual suffragists sometimes espouse political creeds, but leaders are urged not to join political parties. This attitude is due not only to the fact that partisanship would retard our progress but because of the not unnatural feeling that the women will wait until some party "makes good" and gives them their freedom.

To cite merely these facts and incidents about Pennsylvania's actual suffrage work is like putting bread on the table and nothing else. The woman suffrage movement is not an isolated issue—it is merely a vigorous compelling part of the whole world wide movement to secure social equality and political justice. Its progress is co-extensive with that of correlated struggles for human advancement, and as surely as the world grows better because juster and more humanly inclusive, so surely will the extension of the franchise be granted to women.

In November, 1915, another liberty bell will be ready to peal forth its message of freedom in Pennsylvania. This bell, the gift of Mrs. Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger of Strafford, Pennsylvania, will be an exact bronze replica of the famous liberty bell. But, its clapper will be silenced by chains fastened to its yoke and will swing only when Pennsylvania women are free. This new liberty bell will make a tour of the state during 1915, arranged so that the bell will reach Philadelphia by November and be placed

in position to ring out its glad tidings after election day. In its way, this symbol, chained and mute, typifies the appeal which the women of Pennsylvania are making to their men. Not that we ask privilege but liberty—the same passionate desire that stirred in men's hearts a century ago is throbbing in our breasts today and for the same reasons. We, too, would be free to develop the finest race under the best conditions for the greatest good of all.

INDEX

ADDAMS, JANE. The Larger Aspects of the Woman's Movement, 1–8.
Alaska, extension of franchise to women in, 93.
America, evolutionary progress of women in, 114.
Anti-feminist, views of the extreme type of, 18.
Arizona, extension of franchise to women in, 93.
Asia, governmental privileges of women in, 6–8.
Australia, extension of franchise to women in, 93.

Ballot: Effect of, on equality of men and women, 108; effect of, upon women, 36, 37; extension of, to women, 55; not necessary for establishment of civil and legal rights, 101; not necessary to higher education of women, 101; temptation of women to over-qualify for the, 96; true function of, 36.
BALLOT, THE SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE, UPON WOMEN. Emilie J. Hutchinson, 105–110.
BARNES, EARL. Woman's Place in the New Civilization, 9–17.
BEARD, MARY R. The Legislative Influence of Unenfranchised Women, 54–61.
BRECKINRIDGE, S. P. Political Equality for Women and Women's Wages, 122–133.
Bristow-Mondell Amendment, the, 55, 63.

California: Campaign for prohibition in, 148; extension of franchise to women in, 93; minimum wage law in, 132.
Civil service, as a means of opening opportunities for women, 74.
CIVILIZATION, WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE NEW. Earl Barnes, 9–17.
Clubs: Achievements of women's, in various states, 81–84; activities of, in the United States, 58–60; civic value of movement for women's, 80; origin of movement for women's, 79; work of women's, 80; work of women's, in municipal activities, 73.
CLUBS, CIVIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN'S. Mary I. Wood, 78–87.
Club women, civic activities of American, 85–87.
Colorado: Accomplishments of women's clubs in, 83; campaign for prohibition in, 148; extension of franchise to women in, 93; minimum wage law in, 132.
Connecticut, accomplishments of club women in, 83.
Consumers' League, the, 57, 58, 64, 65, 66, 69.
CONVENTIONALITY, FEMINISM AND. Elsie Clews Parsons, 47–53.

DEARDORFF, NEVA R. Women in Municipal Activities, 71–77.
District of Columbia, minimum wage commission for, 65.
Divorce, and women's independence, 34, 35.
DODGE, MRS. ARTHUR M. Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights, 99–104.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND SEX EQUALITY, THE. Gertrude S. Martin, 38–46.

Electorate, qualities most valuable in, 4.
England: Education of women in, 38; method used by women in, to influence public opinion, 113; militant suffrage movement in, 111; position of women in, 111.
English newspapers: American newspapers, as compared with, 138; exaggerated reports of the doings of the militants by, 139, 140; ignoring of women's activities by, 139; opposition of, toward the suffrage movement, 138–140.
Equal Suffrage: And the family, 35–37; effect of, upon women, 35; justice of, 97; meaning of, 99.
EQUAL SUFFRAGE—A PROBLEM OF POLITICAL JUSTICE. Anna Howard Shaw, 93–98.
EQUAL SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN IN PENNSYLVANIA, THE. Jennie Bradley Roessing, 153–160.
Europe: Governmental privileges of women in, 6–8; physical development of women peasants in, 20.

Factory system, effect of, on women, 106.
Family: As affected by women's activities, 32, 33; disintegration of, 30; dissolution of, 32; equal suffrage and the, 35–37; recognition of, as a social institution, 28; reconstruction of, constitution of, 28–30; rise of democracy in, 29.
FAMILY, CHANGED IDEALS AND STATUS OF THE, AND THE PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN. George Elliott Howard, 27–37.
Family life, the rising ideal of, 33.
Feminism, definition of, 18.
FEMINISM AND CONVENTIONALITY. Elsie Clews Parsons, 47–53.
FEMINISM, THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF. Maurice Parmelee, 18–26.
Feminist, assumptions of extreme type of, 18.
Feminist movement, trend of, 6.
Fifty-four hour bill, for women workers, 58.
Franchise: Demand for, in Germany and England, 2; extension of, to women in Europe, 93, 94; extension of, to women in United States, 93; value of, 95.

General Federation of Women's Clubs, the, 79, 80, 108.
Great Britain, education of women in, 38.

Hill, Octavia, statement of, 104.
HOWARD, GEORGE ELLIOTT. Changed Ideals and Status of the Family and the Public Activities of Women, 27–37.
HUTCHINSON, EMILIE J. The Socializing Influence of the Ballot upon Women, 105–110.

Iceland: Campaign for prohibition in, 149; suffrage movement in, 93.
Idaho, extension of franchise to women in, 93.
Illinois, accomplishments of women's clubs in, 83.
Iowa, accomplishments of organized women in, 81.

Juvenile court: Capacities of women in, 88; duties of women in, 92; girls in, 89.
JUVENILE COURT, WOMEN IN THE. Emily Foote Runge, 88–92.

Kansas, extension of franchise to women in, 93.
KELLEY, FLORENCE. Women and Social Legislation in the United States, 62–70.
Kentucky, accomplishments of club women in, 82.

Labor legislation, influence of women on, 60.
—— organization, progress of, among women, 106, 107.
Legislation: Accomplishments in, by women, 57; responsibility of women for, 108; women's influence on, 60.
LEGISLATIVE INFLUENCE OF UNENFRANCHISED WOMEN, THE. Mary R. Beard, 54–61.
Legislators, influence of women upon, 55.
Lincoln Highway, as a civic undertaking of women, 84, 85.

Male suffrage, qualifications for the right of, 94.
MARTIN, GERTRUDE S. The Education of Women and Sex Equality, 38–46.
Maryland, accomplishments of club women in, 84.
Massachusetts: Accomplishments of club women in, 84; minimum wage law in, 132.
Matrimony: And social control, 27–28; as a profession, 33.
Men: Differences existing between women and, 53; relation of, to women, 50.
MILITANT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, THE. Mary Winsor, 134–142.
Militant suffragettes: Exaggerated reports of the doings of, by English newspapers, 139, 140; the unjust attitude assumed toward, 136, 137.
Minimum wage commissions, 122.
Minnesota, minimum wage law in, 132.
Missouri, accomplishments of club women in, 84.
MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES, WOMEN IN. Neva R. Deardorff, 71–77.

New Mexico, work of club women in, 83.
New Orleans, work of club women in, 84.
New York, services of women in state of, 44.
New Zealand: Efforts of women in, to secure prohibition, 148, 149; extension of suffrage in, 94.
North, women voters in the, 56.

Ohio, minimum wage law in, 132.
Oregon: Accomplishments of women's clubs in, 83; campaign for prohibition in, 148; extension of franchise to women in, 93; minimum wage law in, 132.

PARMELEE, MAURICE. The Economic Basis of Feminism, 18–26.
PARSONS, ELSIE CLEWS. Feminism and Conventionality, 47–53.
PATTEN, SIMON N. The Evolution of a New Woman, 111–121.
Pennsylvania, equal suffrage in, 153–160.
Pennybacker, Mrs. Percy V., 78, 79.
Perkins, Frances, 58.
Political equality, results of, for women, 129–133.
POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN AND WOMEN'S WAGES. S. P. Breckinridge, 122–133.
Prison labor and women's industries, 67.
Probation officers, women as, 88.
Prohibition: Campaign for, in various states, 148; women as means of establishing, 145, 146.
PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN, CHANGED IDEALS AND STATUS OF THE FAMILY AND THE. George Elliott Howard, 27–37.
Public opinion: Dominated by women, 100; effect of, on child legislation, 103; influence of women on, 103; regarding women, in male suffrage states, 102; women's method of influencing, in England, 113.
Pure food laws, influence of women in passage of, 56.

ROESSING, JENNIE BRADLEY. The Equal Suffrage Campaign in Pennsylvania, 153–160.
Roosevelt, statement of, to women of Progressive party in New York, 56.
RUNGE, EMILY FOOTE. Women in the Juvenile Court, 88–92.

Self-government, history of, 1.
Sex equality: Achievement of, 46; agitation for, 38.
SEX EQUALITY, THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN AND. Gertrude S. Martin, 38–46.
SHAW, ANNA HOWARD. Equal Suffrage—A Problem of Political Justice, 93–98.
Social legislation and women's influence, 57, 58, 61, 62–70.
SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES, WOMEN AND. Florence Kelley, 62–70.
Social service, activities of women in the field of, 44.
South, woman suffrage in the, 56.
South Dakota, accomplishments of women in, 83.
St. Louis, women in Juvenile court of, 92.
State: Over-parentage of, 30–32; over-parentage of, and family integrity, 30–32.
STEWART, ELLA SEASS. Woman Suffrage and the Liquor Traffic, 143–152.
Suffrage: As a means of creating social harmony, 115; as an outcome of life and vitality, 121; extension of, to women, 55; extent of woman, in United States, 13, 154; granting of, as a means of raising women's wages, 123, 124. *See also* Ballot and Woman Suffrage.
SUFFRAGE, WOMAN, AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC. Ella Seass Stewart, 143–152.
Suffrage movement: History of the, in Pennsylvania, 153–155; in England, 111; in the United States, as compared with that in England, 135; initiation of the, in Pennsylvania, 153; men responsible for the conduct of the, 135; opposition of English newspapers toward the, 138–140.
SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, THE MILITANT. Mary Winsor, 134–142.
Suffrage problems, statement of, 114.
Suffragettes, in England, grounds of, for revolt, 134, 135.
Suffragists: Efforts of the, in Pennsylvania, to secure action in men's political parties, 156; services rendered by, to the world, 137.

Taft, William H., on woman suffrage, 100.
Teachers in country schools, 78, 79.

Utah: Extension of franchise to women in, 93; minimum wage law in, 132.

"Votes-for-women" movement, aspects of, 1, 4.

Wage earners: Public opinion regarding women as, 107; women as, 106.
Wages: Effect of woman labor upon, 22; level of, dependent on economic causes, 124; reports on women's, 122.
WAGES, POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN AND WOMEN'S. S. P. Breckinridge, 122–133.
Washington: Campaign for prohibition in, 148; extension of franchise to women in, 93; minimum wage law in, 132.
WINSOR, MARY. The Militant Suffrage Movement, 134–142.

Wisconsin, minimum wage law in, 132.
WOMAN, THE EVOLUTION OF A NEW. Simon N. Patten, 111–121.
Woman suffrage: Active campaign for, in Pennsylvania, 155–160; arguments against, 95; arguments in favor of, 97; as a means of establishing prohibition, 145, 146; as a phase of the evolution of modern society, 115; detailed methods of the campaign for, in Pennsylvania, 157–160; extent of, in Europe, 93, 94; extent of, in the United States, 93; formation of men's leagues in Pennsylvania in favor of, 156; in the United States, 99; in the western states, 114, 115; opposition of liquor dealers to, 144–146; William H. Taft on, 100. *See also* Suffrage.
WOMAN SUFFRAGE OPPOSED TO WOMAN'S RIGHTS. Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, 99–104.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the, 144.
Woman's movement, reflecting improvement in her physical and economic condition, 119.
WOMAN'S MOVEMENT, THE LARGER ASPECTS OF THE. Jane Addams, 1–8.
WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE NEW CIVILIZATION. Earl Barnes, 9–17.
WOMAN'S RIGHTS, WOMAN SUFFRAGE OPPOSED TO. Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, 99–104.
Women: Accomplishments of, 12–14, 43; accomplishments of, in municipal activities, 72; activities of, in state and nation, 77; as educators rather than politicians, 103; as municipal office holders, 76; as wage earners, 106; assumption of responsibilities of government by, 100; capability of, for entering all occupations, 19–21; capacities of, in the juvenile court, 88; change in personal and social relations of, 15; change in the position of, 71; changes in political life of, 15; changes in the physical traits of, 116–118; civic activities of club, 85–87; civil and legal rights of, 101; demand of, for political enfranchisement, 2; demands for service of, 75; demands made by, 72; difference of feeling toward, in America and England, 136; differences existing between men and, 53; differentiation of college curriculum for, 47; differentiations in the habits and customs of, 48–49; disadvantages of, as compared with men in professions, 128, 129; displacement of, in industry by prison labor, 68; dissatisfaction of, with legislators, 6; domination of public opinion by, 100; economic independence of, 19; education of, 38; educational freedom of, 107; educational needs of, 47; effect of, upon wages, 22; effect of civil service on opportunities for, 74; effect of economic and political reform upon, 48; effect of enfranchisement on, 105–110; effect of equal suffrage upon, 35–37; effect of male gallantry upon economic independence of, 22, 24; enfranchisement of, in United States, 62; enthusiasm of, for coöperative experience, 107–108; entrance of, into government, 2; evolutionary progress in America, 114; exceptions to the characteristic tendency of, 49, 50; exemption of, from political responsibility, 104; experience of, in growth of social nature, 106; extension of ballot to, 55; fitness of, for present-day political tasks, 35; freedom of, from responsibility for European war, 62; governmental privileges of, in European and Asiatic countries, 6–8; grievances of, in Eng-

land, 135, 136; higher education of, accomplished without the vote, 101; important executive positions of, in numerous organizations, 60; in industry, 101; inability of, to defend interests in political field, 68; independence of, and divorce, 34, 35; industrial and social interests of, 64; industries of, and prison contract labor, 67; influence of, on social legislation, 60; influence of, upon legislators, 55; insistence of, for political expression, 3; justice of enfranchisement of, 94, 97; legislative activities of, 64; liberation of, 32; method used by, to influence public opinion in England, 113; minimum wage for, in Massachusetts, 102; new intellectual life of, 32–33; number of, in public schools as compared with men, 130; opening of new lines of employment for, 131; opening of public offices to, 76; organized efforts of, 58; periodical life of, 11; physical and mental qualities of, 10; place of, in the home, 49; position of, a generation ago, 71; position of, before and after 1870, 11–12; progress of labor organization among, 106, 107; protection of, in industrial life, 101; public opinion regarding, as wage earners, 107; public opinion regarding, in male suffrage states, 102; reaction of enfranchisement upon status of, in society, 105; reasons for restricting occupations of, 22–24; recognition of, as human personalities, 42; recognition of equality of, 43; removal of artificial distinctions between men and, 109; responsibility of, for legislation, 108; results of political equality for, 129–133; right of, to protest against political responsibilities, 103; Ruskin on liberation of, 40; services rendered by, to the state, 44; sex differentiations regarding, 51; special protection of, under law, 100, 101; struggle for the education of, 39, 40; wage level of, 122; wages of, compared with those of men, 123; weight of, in serious labor legislation, 60; work of organized, 80.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES. Florence Kelley, 62–70.

WOMEN, CHANGED IDEALS AND STATUS OF THE FAMILY AND THE PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF. George Elliott Howard, 27–37.

WOMEN IN THE JUVENILE COURT. Emily Foote Runge, 88–92.

WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES. Neva R. Deardorff, 71–77.

WOMEN, POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR, AND WOMEN'S WAGES. S. P. Breckinridge, 122–133.

WOMEN, THE EDUCATION OF, AND SEX EQUALITY. Gertrude S. Martin, 38–46.

WOMEN, THE LEGISLATIVE INFLUENCE OF UNENFRANCHISED. Mary R. Beard, 54–61.

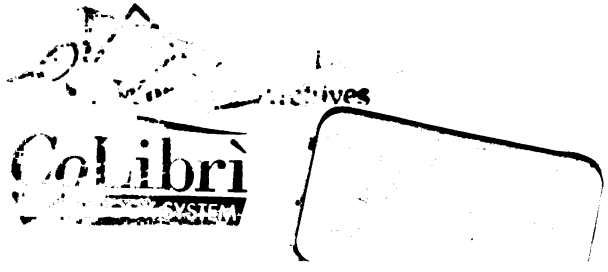
WOMEN, THE SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE BALLOT UPON. Emilie J. Hutchinson, 105–110.

Women workers: Classification of, 125; disadvantages of, as compared with men, 126, 127; results of the disadvantages of, 128.

Women's clubs, *see* clubs.

WOOD, MARY I. Civic Activities of Women's Clubs, 78–87.

Wyoming, extension of franchise to women in, 93.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